

Horse and Rider Figurines from Ancient Marion

by

Chelsea Walter

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Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Nancy Serwint, Chair
Renzo Baldasso
Gray Sweeney

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ABSTRACT

Ancient Mediterranean cultures incorporated equine iconography into their artistic repertoires, demonstrating the horse's importance not only as a beast of burden and war, but also as a visual symbol of wealth and prestige. Interaction between man and horse appears in clay as early as the third millennium BC, along with the early development of ancient Near Eastern cultures. Tactical evolution in Near Eastern warfare, particularly the eclipse of chariot forces by the rise of cavalry, coincided with the emergence of equestrian terracotta figurines and facilitated the popularity of horse and rider imagery. Cyprus' many city-kingdoms have yielded a vast, coroplastic corpus in both votive and mortuary contexts, including figurines of equestrian type. These terracottas are an important contribution to the understanding of ancient Cypriote cultures, cities and their coroplastic *oeuvre*.

While many studies of excavated terracottas include horse and rider figurines, only a limited number of these publications dedicate adequate analysis and interpretation. Ancient Marion is one of the Cypriote city-kingdoms producing a number of equestrian terracottas that are in need of further examination. By focusing on the unpublished horse and rider figurines from Marion, this paper will add to the conversation of Cyprus' inclusion of equestrian iconography in coroplastic production. Through thorough analysis of the horse and rider terracottas, specifically their plastic and stylistic components, this thesis establishes typologies, makes visual comparisons and demonstrates Marion's awareness of an equine vogue both in contemporary Cyprus and abroad. The horse and rider figurines of Marion are an important contribution to the better understanding of the

city-kingdom and exemplify the inclusion of equestrian imagery within the context of ancient societies.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my husband and daughter for their continual love and unwavering support of my dreams and goals. I would also like to dedicate this thesis to my family who have all encouraged, inspired and challenged me to reach my highest potential. Without these important people in my life, this thesis would not have been possible.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The following thesis is an examination of an unpublished dataset of equestrian terracotta figurines excavated at the ancient site of Marion. Through stylistic analysis and the examination of the figurines' social and religious context, the primary goal of this thesis is to produce a comprehensive and thorough study of the material in its entirety. A select corpus of horse and riders from other ancient Cypriote sites will be included in the discussion as a point of visual comparison, furthering the conversation of equestrian iconography as a substantial component of Cyprus' coroplastic *oeuvre*.

The coroplastic arts of ancient Cyprus have interested art historians and archaeologists for decades. An enduring tradition in the eastern Mediterranean, image making with clay developed in some of the earliest village settlements in the Near East. The coroplastic arts are an important source of evidence that help reconstruct and better understand the lives of those who made terracotta figurines, the people who purchased them and the societies that encouraged them to do so.

Interaction between man and horse appears in clay as early as the third millennium BC.¹ During this time, horses were an important element in the development of ancient civilizations. They were not only beasts of burden, or a sign of militarism, but were also a status symbol of the upper class representing wealth and prestige. The care and management of a horse, including housing, grooming, training, food and

¹ P. R. S. Moorey, *Idols of the People: Miniature Images of Clay in the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2003), 1.

accoutrements, was very expensive and required an ample and steady income.² To own a horse was a luxury that only the extremely wealthy could afford and was, therefore, flaunted with much pomp and circumstance. As a result, the horse and its equestrian were a representation of class and economy, recognized by every member of society no matter their rank. The horse's presence in battle widened the gap in class distinction; not only were officers and nobility the only ones who could afford a horse and, therefore, given the prestigious echelon of a charioteer or cavalryman, but also when mounting a horse, they visually rose above the foot soldiers of lesser rank and commanded fear from those at whom they charged.

The tradition of chariots in military campaigns was introduced by the Canaanites and Egyptians during the Bronze Age, with Israel adopting chariot forces sometime between 1025-853 BC.³ During this time period, teams of terracotta chariots were produced and used both in votive and mortuary contexts. The iconography of a horse and rider pair does not emerge in the Near East until the Iron Age.⁴ Tactical evolution in Near Eastern warfare, particularly the eclipse of chariot forces with the rise of cavalry, coincided with the emergence of equestrian terracotta figurines, produced both in the Near East and Cyprus. The shift in military preference facilitated the coroplastic popularity of horse and rider imagery, demonstrating the important role of clay figurines

² Deborah O'Daniel Cantrell, *The Horsemen of Israel: Horses and Chariotry in Monarchic Israel (Ninth-Eighth centuries B. C. E.)* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 46-49. During the Iron Age, trained chariot horses were the most expensive commodity in the ancient Near East. Ancient documents cite that the purchase of a well-trained horse amounted anywhere from 100 shekels (almost two pounds of silver) to 300 shekles (five pounds of silver).

³ Cantrell, *The Horsemen of Israel*, 62.

⁴ Moorey, *Idols of the People*, 61.

in their ability to portray social and political events, as well as the identity of an individual.

Cyprus' many city-kingdoms incorporated and produced equestrian iconography in both votive and mortuary contexts starting in the seventh century BC.⁵ Although substantial scholarship has been produced focusing on Cypriote sites and their artifacts, horse and rider terracottas have been relatively generalized or passed over entirely. In antiquity, the increased popularity and production of equestrian terracottas calls for a more thorough approach in understanding their contribution to society. What is needed is a full, comprehensive study of terracotta horse and rider figurines. This can only be accomplished if the equestrian assemblages of Cypriote sites are individually addressed and analyzed.

Methodology

The study of terracotta figurines and their function within society should be approached with caution. Miniature terracotta figures, in particular, which lack ancient documentation on their social, political, and religious roles, create ambiguities and obstacles in presenting valid interpretations of identity and function. A large majority of horse and rider figurines have been uncovered in mortuary or sanctuary contexts – places secret and void of documentation. When not found in a ritual context, horse and rider

⁵ Vassos Karageorghis, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus*, Vol. IV: *Cypro Archaic Period Small Figurines* (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1991), 61.

terraccottas are often recovered from a place of disposal,⁶ isolated entirely from their place of origin.

Another difficulty in the interpretation of terracotta figurines, including Cypriote horse and riders, is that a large majority of the available material was recovered in unregulated activities.⁷ Looting and “excavations” by amateurs and archaeology enthusiasts in the 19th century have created quite a predicament for those studying terracotta horse and riders in private collections and international museums. The figurines were taken out of context with little to no documentation and even the site of origin can only be assumed, rather than confirmed. Until recently, many published equestrian terraccottas lacked provenance. The origin and find spot of a horse and rider figurine, and any terracotta figurine for that matter, is essential in order to understand the culture from which it came and its function within that culture. As a result, this thesis only compares the Marion material to horse and rider figurines that also have a confirmed provenance.

This impasse accentuates the significance of the Marion horse and riders. The forty-seven horse and rider fragments included in this study were thoroughly documented in a controlled excavation. This collection of equestrian terraccottas is one of the few available where the provenance can be confirmed.

As stated by P. Moorey, “few things in archaeology are more elusive than the definition of functions determined socially.”⁸ Although similar in appearance, figurines

⁶ Many excavations carried out at Cypriote sanctuaries have uncovered a *bothros* outside of the place of worship, a place of sacred disposal containing votives and other ceremonial objects.

⁷ Karageorghis, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus*, 1.

⁸ Moorey, *Idols of the People*, 67.

potentially represent multiple entities and can serve a variety of functions and purposes. Time should also be considered. Function and identity of an object are liable to change over time, just as society changes, and with the existence of miniature terracotta figurines spanning a period of some eight thousand years,⁹ it would be ignorant to assume that an image or type would have unvarying meaning and value throughout such a long term of existence.

With this in mind, and current published research of the Marion horse and riders being minimal, this thesis will be an object-centered, qualitative assessment of the material. This exploratory method has been chosen in order to avoid, as much as possible, the personal and cultural bias that often accompanies cultural-historical research.¹⁰ This study will thoroughly record and analyze the plastic and stylistic components of each individual horse and rider, establishing typologies and making visual comparisons. The material's excavated context will also be considered; only then will there be an attempt to include social constructivism.

This approach allows for an open perspective on the possible functions of the Marion equestrian terracottas and avoids the use of limiting, pre-determined hypotheses. While the ideal outcome of this thesis would be to confirm the function of these terracotta figurines within the ancient society of Marion, it is more likely that a plurality of possible meanings and purposes will comprise the concluding remarks.

⁹ Ibid., 2.

¹⁰ Mehmet Özdoğan, "Hypothetical Approaches and Realities: Research Strategies in Defining Space and Context," in *Deconstructing Context: A Critical Approach to Understanding Archaeological Practice*, ed. D. Papaconstantinou (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006), 159.

These complexities have not deterred the study and analysis of the terracotta figurines originating from Cyprus and the Near East. Quite the contrary, this void of information has ignited decades worth of research and interpretations. The investigations of horse and rider terracottas conducted thus far also need to be cautiously considered. While exemplary research has been produced, it is imperative to be critical of available theories and their accompanying cultural filters that are unavoidable when modern thinking analyzes the past.¹¹

Ancient Scholarship

Unfortunately, there is little reference to terracotta horse and rider figurines in the remains of ancient texts. However, there are ample sources detailing horse husbandry in the Near East and Greece. The Kikkuli text,¹² and the Hippiatric texts¹³ are Hittite training manuals, dedicated to the care and usage of military horses. The Kikkuli text, in particular, concentrates on the training and care of chariot horses, including daily routines, diets and focused workouts and warm-ups.

Closer to the time period of Marion¹⁴ are the ancient writings of Xenophon, dating to the fourth century BC.¹⁵ Although Greek, Xenophon's manual on cavalry operations

¹¹ Moorey, *Idols of the People*, 7.

¹² Gerhard F. Probst and Carolyn Whitesel, *The Kikkuli text on the training of horses (ca. 1350 B.C.)* (Lexington, Kentucky: Keeneland Association Library, 1977). The Kikkuli text dates to the fourteenth century BC and originates from the Hittite capital of Hattusa. It is a training manual for chariot horses.

¹³ Chaim Cohen and Daniel Sivan, *The Ugaritic Hippiatric texts: a critical edition* (New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1983). The Hippiatric texts are from Ugarit and focus on the finite conditioning of the horse in military roles.

¹⁴ Marion was founded sometime in the eighth century BC, continuing until its destruction in 312 BC.

¹⁵ The two publications used in reference to Xenophon's writings are as follows: Xenophon, *On Horsemanship* (Lanham: Start Publishing LLC, 2013); and Xenophon, *Three Essays: On the Duties of a Cavalry General, on Horsemanship, and on Hunting* ([S.I.]: Hardpress Ltd, 2013).

will offer perspective on the ancient use of horses during the time of Marion and their place in social and political contexts. Xenophon gives a detailed account of grooming, trade and cost of a horse in antiquity. There are also rules on horse protocol. Although these ancient references offer a plethora of information on horse husbandry, this thesis will refer specifically to these accounts when identifying certain military accoutrements.

The Hebrew Bible will also be an invaluable reference for this thesis in understanding the technological advancement of the horse and social awareness of its militaristic strength in the ancient world. The Hebrew Bible cites the adoption of cavalry in the Near East, not only as an event, but a “deeply entrenched memory” in the public’s collective conscience.¹⁶ Thirty of the thirty-nine books in the Hebrew Bible have some form of reference to horses or mounted warriors in historical and cultural contexts.¹⁷ More important is the noticeable shift in biblical verse when referring to military preferences – Isaiah’s multiple accounts of the Assyrian and Egyptian armies during the ninth and eighth centuries BC focus on chariot forces. However, the writings of prophets in the seventh and sixth centuries BC, such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, singularly describe cavalry and the relentless ferocity of mounted warriors.

It is not automatically assumed that the Marion material reflects cavalry and, as a result, only a few references will be made to biblical verse in this thesis. However, the information presented on the subject of horse identity spans a period of over 400 years,

¹⁶ Cantrell, *The Horsemen of Israel*, 1.

¹⁷ Cantrell, *The Horsemen of Israel*, 143.

reflecting the horse's deep entrenchment within the ancient culture of the Near East as well as neighboring kingdoms with whom the Near East communicated.

Ancient sources from the Hellenistic period onwards are few but those present solidify the historical presence of ancient Marion. In his fourth century BC treatise *Periplous*,¹⁸ Pseudo-Skylax makes an account of prominent geographical features and coastal ports in Cyprus and mentions the ancient city of Marion. Greek geographer Strabo¹⁹ mentions a grove of Zeus in the vicinity of Marion – suggesting the city-kingdom's association with the deity and, more importantly, Marion's sanctuaries having a possible affiliation with Zeus. More numerous are the accounts of wars and contentions involving the allegiance of Cyprus to foreign kingdoms, specifically the history of Cyprus written by Diodorus Siculus²⁰ who writes of Marion's involvement in the Athenian attack on the Persians in Cyprus in 450 BC. Diodorus is also the historian relied upon for the date of Marion's destruction in 312 BC by Ptolemy of Egypt after establishing control over Cyprus.

Current Scholarship

There are four topics of contemporary scholarship vital for the research of this thesis: the development of horse and rider imagery in the Near East, surveys of ancient

¹⁸ Graham Shipley and Scylax. *Pseudo-Skylax's Periplous: the circumnavigation of the inhabited world: text, translation and commentary*. (Exeter, UK: Bristol Phoenix Press, 2011).

¹⁹ Smith, "Histories of Archaeology at Polis Chrysochous," in *City of Gold: Archaeology of Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus*, ed. William A. P. Childs et al. (New Haven, CT: Princeton University Press, 2012), 27. Strabo's recordings date between the first century BC and the first century AD.

²⁰ Siculus Diodorus and Peter Green, *Diodorus Siculus, the Persian Wars to the Fall of Athens: Books 11-14.34 (480-401 BCE)* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2010); and Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*. Vol. 1. Trans. C.H. Oldfather (London: Heinemann Ltd, 1960). The writings of Diodorus date to the first century BC.

Cyprus' coroplastic production of equestrian terracottas, focused studies of individual Cypriote sites, and the recent publications on excavations conducted at Marion.

P. R. S. Moorey's *Idols of the People: Miniature Images of Clay in the Ancient Near East*, is an excellent resource in detailing the coroplastic legacy of equestrian terracotta figurines and identifying the many complexities associated with their social and religious functions. Moorey points out the dismissal of horse and rider figurines in current scholarship and the dominance of academic attention to female anthropomorphic images, even when they are "recurrently associated with miniatures of males [and] animals."²¹ However, a similar approach seems to be present in *Idols of the People*. Moorey does give detailed descriptions of horse and rider figurines from ancient Israel and Judah,²² dissecting their composition and identifying the figures' possible function within their social, political and religious contexts. However, this information is limited and the majority of the publication focuses on female iconography. The research and accompanying photographs provided on horse and rider imagery are useful but overwhelmingly minor in comparison to information offered on female forms. Such a lacuna, even under the best intentions, indicates that thorough analysis is still needed of horse and rider figurines.

²¹ Moorey, *Idols of the People*, 2.

²² Ibid., 61. The horse and rider figurines from ancient Israel and Judah dominate the coroplastic repertoire starting in the Iron Age.

Both M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel have published extensive analyses on the use of horses in the Near East, Greece, Cyprus and Egypt.²³ The perspective of their research is wide – focusing on the function of horses in society and their influence on the evolution of accoutrements and tactical warfare. More importantly is the connection Littauer and Crouwel make between the development of equipage and their representation in pictorial form. Although horse and rider terracottas are only mentioned on occasion, there are wall reliefs, vase paintings and other forms illustrating equine technology that can be compared and applied to ancient terracotta horse and riders. This thesis references Littauer and Crouwel's detailed accounts of horse tack and, more specifically, the stylistic renderings of accoutrements for visual purposes.

The coroplastic arts of ancient Cyprus have been studied extensively by numerous historians and archaeologists for the past century. Research by Vassos Karageorghis is an appreciated source in helping comprehend the staggering number of terracotta figurines produced throughout the island. Although his many publications²⁴ contribute photographs and information on assemblages from individual sites and the stylistic characteristics of

²³ For a publication specifically addressing ancient horse tack, see M. A. Littauer, *Bits and Pieces* (Gloucester, England: Antiquity Publications, 1969); for publications on the function of the horse in antiquity, see M. A. Littauer, J. H. Crouwel, and Peter Raulwing, *Selected Writings on Chariots and Other Early Vehicles* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) and M. A. Littauer, and J. H. Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* (Leiden: Brill, 1979).

²⁴ Karageorghis' work spans the Neolithic to the Archaic. For his most influential of sources on the topic of Cypriote horse and rider figurines, see Vassos Karageorghis, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus, Vol. I-VI* (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1991-1996); a helpful publication on Cypriote terracottas found outside of the island, see Vassos Karageorghis, Jacqueline Karageorghis, and Panagiota Marantidou, *Terracotta Statues and Figurines of Cypriote Type Found in the Aegean: provenance studies* (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 2009); publications focusing on specific Cypriote sites covered in this thesis, see Vassos Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis Vol. I-IV* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1967-1978) and Vassos Karageorghis, *La nécropole d'Amathonte. Tombes 113-367, 6, Bijoux, armes, verre, astragales et coquillages, squelettes* (Nicosia: Chr. Tytgat, 1992).

certain terracotta types, oftentimes Karageorghis' references to horse and rider figurines have been short and generalized, with a focus on description rather than critique. The Cypriote horse and rider figurines Karageorghis chooses to include are also problematic, the majority being without provenance and, therefore, without context. The lack of documentation for horse and rider figurines makes the Marion material in this thesis all the more valuable, offering multiple equestrian terracottas with reliable excavation details.

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition (SCE) offers exceptional information in its publications on Cypriote ancient sites and excavation.²⁵ However, similar to the limitations of Karageorghis' research, the documentation by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition is more descriptive than interpretive. However, the publications by the SCE offer vital information on Marion, as well as the ancient sites of Amathus and Ajia Irini, which both produced horse and rider figurines. Excavations conducted by the SCE at Marion focused on the tombs, rather than the sanctuaries. The publications establish chronologies of the sites excavated, extensive maps and photographs of the artifacts' find spots and their correlation with each other. These publications will aid this thesis in its comparison of the Marion corpus to the equestrian terracottas of Amathus and Ajia Irini.

Also to be compared to the Marion horse and rider corpus are the equestrian terracottas of Salamis, another Cypriote city-kingdom. There are two sources that have proved to be especially useful: Thérèse Monloup's *Salamine de Chypre* especially

²⁵ Einar Gjerstad et al., *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927-1931 I-IV*, Text (Stockholm: Victor Petterson's Bokindustriaktiebolag, 1934-1948).

volume XII: *les figurines de terre cuite de tradition archaïque*,²⁶ and Vassos Karageorghis' volumes on Salamis and its excavations.²⁷ Both publications offer information on the site and, more importantly, the terracotta figurines found in mortuary context. While Karageorghis' publications on Salamis are informative of the history and excavation of the site, it is the careful documentation and dissection of the terracotta figurine types in the publication by Monloup that put this ancient city-kingdom in perspective for this thesis. Monloup offers visual comparisons and special attention to the stylistic details and accoutrements present on the figurines. The photographs are something to be desired as far as quality, but the hand drawings of the equids and their riders offer exceptional visuals that will be useful in their comparison to the Marion material.

*Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*²⁸ is another publication focusing on a corpus of terracotta figurines from a specific Cypriote site. Although a step forward in addressing terracotta horse and riders and their related context, the publication by Young and Young is limited in its analysis, offering description with little accompaniment of interpretation and including drawings of the objects that are helpful but in need of more detail. Continued research of the Kourion horse and riders includes a recent article by

²⁶ Thérèse Monloup, Claude Bachasson-Brugère, and Joud Saad, *Salamine de Chypre* Vol. XII: *Les figurines de terre cuite de traditions archaïque* (Paris: de Boccard, 1984).

²⁷ Vassos Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, Vol. I-IV (London: Harrison and Sons, 1967-1978).

²⁸ John Howard Young and Suzanne Halstead Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1955).

Nancy Winter, “Terracotta Figurines from Kourion: the Workshops.”²⁹ Although brief, Winter gives significant commentary on the stylistic representations of the equestrian corpus and their indication of workshops, molds used and the coroplasts who created them. Winter’s information will be an important asset for this thesis when it takes into consideration the presence of workshops at Marion.

Studies focusing on the ancient city of Marion have flourished in the past thirty years, due primarily to efforts by Princeton University and its three decades of excavations at both Marion and Arsinoe. The most recent publication, *City of Gold: The Archaeology of Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus*,³⁰ gives a detailed overview of the excavations’ findings and an invaluable source in understanding the historical background and diverse cultures present at Marion during the Iron Age, as well as the site’s occupation during the Hellenistic, Roman and Medieval time periods.³¹ Not only does the publication include an extensive catalog highlighting the many different archaeological finds from the ancient sites, with accompanying photographs, but it also includes a compilation of essays that cover every aspect of Marion and its excavations.

Although *City of Gold* highlights many terracotta sculptures found at the ancient city, the publication’s account is limited in detailing the horse and rider terracotta

²⁹ Nancy Winter, “Terracotta Figurines from Kourion: the Workshops,” in *Cypriote Terracottas: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriote Studies, Brussels-Liège-Amsterdam, 29 May – 1 June, 1989*, ed. Frieda Vandenabeele and Robert Laffineur (Brussels-Liège: A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1991).

³⁰ William A. P. Childs et al., *City of Gold: the Archaeology of Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Art Museum, 2012).

³¹ For this paper, the use of the term *Iron Age* will include both the Cypro-Achaic and Cypro-Classical Periods –between 800-310 BC.

figurines from ancient Marion. This is due, in large part, to current, continuing study of the terracotta corpus by Dr. Nancy Serwint. With this in mind, *City of Gold* gives a firm historical foundation for this thesis in presenting the cultures and religious context from which Marion's horse and rider terracottas derive. As a result, this thesis will offer new insight on ancient Marion's coroplastic legacy, specifically the horse and rider figurines that, at this point, require a thorough discussion.

The Marion equestrian terracottas, although largely unpublished, have been referred to in a number of articles by archaeologist Nancy Serwint, who has dedicated her life to the coroplastic production of Marion and Arsinoe. Serwint's early publications include information on some of the horse and rider figurines and their votive context.³² Her most recent essay, "The Sanctuaries of Marion,"³³ is especially invaluable for this thesis – giving detailed information on the sanctuaries, where the equestrian figurines were excavated, the deities they were likely associated with, and brief descriptions of the most diagnostic in the collection. Serwint's principal focus within the Marion terracotta corpus, however, is more involved with the female iconography and although Serwint has offered analysis on some of the more diagnostic equestrian pieces, the majority of the

³² For valuable resources by Nancy Serwint in relation to this thesis, see Nancy Serwint, "Terracotta Sculpture from Marion" in *Cypriote Terracottas: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriote Studies, Brussels-Liège-Amsterdam, 29 May-1 June* (Brussels: Conference Publication, 1991), 213-219; and Nancy Serwint, "The Terracotta Sculpture from Ancient Marion: Recent Discoveries," *ACTA CYPRIA: Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology Held in Goteborg on 22-24 August, 1991* 3 (1992): 382-426; an insightful publication for the function of sanctuaries and votives of Marion, see Nancy Serwint, "Gender in the Sanctuary: Votive Offerings and Deity at Ancient Marion" in *Gender Through Time in the Ancient Near East* 17, ed. Diane Bolger (Lanham, MD:Altamira Press, 2008), 313-334.

³³ Joanna S. Smith, Mary Grace Weir and Nancy Serwint, "The Sanctuaries of Marion" in *City of Gold: The Archaeology of Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus*, ed. William A. P. Childs et al. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Art Museum, 2012), 167-183.

horse and rider material is still available for interpretation. Serwint's contribution confirms the importance of Marion as a coroplastic center and is a step towards the needed analysis of the ancient site's horse and rider figurines.

One of the greatest challenges in scholarship on Cypriote equestrian terracottas, in reference to horse and rider figurines from the Iron Age, is the lack of published images. There tends to be a limited number of photographs, repeatedly recycled throughout each scholarly publication, offering little variety in visual evidence and often displaying images with unknown provenance. This is due, in large part, to the fragmentary state of terracotta figurines, in general, and, as a result, only the more complete and visually distinctive pieces are studied and photographed. Although the percentage of Marion's equestrian terracottas is small in comparison to the coroplastic corpus of other ancient Cypriote sites, this thesis' inclusion of each horse and rider from the Marion collection is a step forward in diversifying the pool of available Cypriote equestrian terracotta imagery.

A Note on Horse Accoutrements and the Near East

Domesticated horses first appeared ca. 4000 BC, becoming widespread throughout the Near East in the first quarter of the second millennium BC.³⁴ *La longue durée* of equine iconography and ancient documentation on horse husbandry exemplifies the importance of the horse in Near Eastern society. Although the focus of this thesis does not include a full, detailed account of the horse's involvement in Near Eastern

³⁴ Oded Borowski, *Every Living Thing: Daily Use of Animals in Ancient Israel* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1998), 87-89.

cultures and the development of horse and rider imagery, the technological advancement of horse equipage and its parallels with Near Eastern iconography must be mentioned for the benefit of the Marion terracotta corpus.

With the introduction of chariotry to the Near East during the Bronze Age, a new era of tactical warfare emerged. No longer were military campaigns conducted solely on foot but now incorporated a number of chariot teams in the front lines. The use of horses as a beast of war evolved with the development of cavalry forces between the late ninth and mid-eighth century BC.³⁵ These new occupations elevated the cultural and economic status of the horse and, as a result, imagery of chariotry and cavalry were incorporated into the iconographic repertoire of the Near East.

The horse's presence in battle meant that, like the soldiers, protective equipment and dress were essential.³⁶ Saddle blankets and saddle flaps were common, covering the back and barrel of the horse and providing a necessary barrier between the horse and its rider.³⁷ In order to control the horse, the concept developed of a bridle. Although some bridles were simple, comprised of a bit and reins, more advanced tack included a full headstall with cheek pieces, cheek straps, a noseband, browband and poll strap.

It was discovered that the most vulnerable part of the horse, during his charge into battle, was the area between his eyes, continuing down the nasal bone.³⁸ In order to protect this sensitive area, it was covered by a frontlet of leather or metal. The chest of

³⁵ Cantrell, *The Horsemen of Israel*, 136.

³⁶ Refer to Appendix for diagrams of the horse and accoutrements developed in the ancient Near East.

³⁷ A saddle blanket was necessary in order for the rider and his horse to avoid unpleasant friction caused by the horse's hair and perspiration during battle.

³⁸ Cantrell, *Horsemen of Israel*, 33.

the horse was also mortally exposed, so oftentimes a breastplate would be present, attached to the horse's breast collar.

There are many visual representations of horses and their accoutrements. Assyrian palace and temple reliefs, as well as Graeco-Persian sarcophagi carvings and Egyptian and Greek seals, reflect the presence and importance of the horse among the elite. An exceptional illustration of horse tack and dress comes from the Assyrian wall reliefs in the North West Palace at Nimrud, where both chariot horses, noble mounts and their equipage are rendered in detail.³⁹ Also notable is that images of horse and riders were found in spaces occupied by a range of social classes of Near Eastern societies, specifically sanctuaries. Equestrian terracottas are found in both public and private spaces.⁴⁰

The universal importance of the horse and its iconography is not only reflected in its ability to transcend the barriers of strict class structures⁴¹ but also its presence in numerous cultures of the ancient Near East and Iron Age Cyprus. Marion is one of the many ancient city-kingdoms of the island whose coroplastic corpus has yielded a collection of horse and rider figurines, not only continuing the legacy of equine

³⁹ For detailed images of the reliefs, see John E. Curtis and Julian E. Reade, *Art and Empire: Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1995).

⁴⁰ H. Franken, "Cave One at Jerusalem – an interpretation," in *Trade, Contact, and the Movement of Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean: Studies in Honor of J. Basil Hennessy*, ed. S. Bourke and J.P. Descoudres (Sydney: 1995). Many of the earlier horse and rider figurines were found in domestic settings, usually in trash middens. Excavations of Iron Age sites have produced horse and rider figurines in both votive and mortuary contexts.

⁴¹ Many scholars would argue that the costly ownership of a horse causes equine iconography to be directly associated to the upper class, however, horse and rider terracottas have been found in trash middens of domestic complexes and in sanctuaries frequented by the general public.

iconography, but also exhibiting an awareness of horse tack and accoutrements first developed in the Near East.

CHAPTER 2

ANCIENT MARION

On the northwest coast of Cyprus, within the vicinity of the modern village of Polis Chrysochous, are the remains of the ancient city-kingdom of Marion.⁴² There are a limited number of sources available referencing the ancient city. Pseudo-Skylax wrote a treatise in the fourth century BC titled *Periplus*, comprising an account of the accessible coastal towns and prominent geographic features of Cyprus. Marion is mentioned within the text and is described as a Greek city on the island's west coast.⁴³ An inscription on the mortuary temple of Ramesses III⁴⁴ at Medinet Habu, mentions enemy Cypriote towns such as Salamis, Kition, Soloi, Idalion, and what is believed to be Marion.⁴⁵ This not only suggests the presence of Marion as early as 1194 BC, but also the city's similar political standing as those of other Cypriote city-kingdoms.

Although it is unclear when Marion first came into existence, a limited number of scattered pottery sherds from both the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age have been found in the area, suggesting habitation as early as 2500 BC.⁴⁶ More consistent are the fragments of Mycenaean Greek pottery dating to the Late Bronze Age, and with the

⁴² See Figure 1 for a map of Marion's location, as well as those of other important city-kingdoms.

⁴³ William A. P. Childs, "Marion: A City-Kingdom," in *City of Gold: Archaeology of Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus*, ed. William A. P. Childs et al. (New Haven, Connecticut: Princeton University Press, 2012), 92.

⁴⁴ Ramesses III was in power from 1194-1162, during the Cypriote Late Bronze Age.

⁴⁵ Vassos Karageorghis, *Cyprus: From the Stone Age to the Romans*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1982), 63.

⁴⁶ Childs, "Marion: A City Kingdom," 93. Childs suggests that a series of hamlets occupied the area pre-Marion, specifically on the various plateaus and bluffs overlooking the sea.

abundance of tombs present from as early as the eighth century BC, it is possible that this is the time period when the city of Marion was founded.⁴⁷

Throughout the seventh century, urban growth was exponential, with Marion's construction of multiple cemeteries, prominent sanctuaries, and gridded streets within the confines of the city boundaries. Being the first Cypriote port on the Greek trade route from the Aegean to the East,⁴⁸ Marion possessed lucrative trading contracts and also procured substantial wealth from its neighboring copper mines. However, the architecture and artifacts of the tombs, as well as the sanctuaries, suggests that the lifestyle of those who occupied the city-kingdom was diverse in modesty and opulence with a rich variety of cultures and artistic tastes.

Unfortunately, there is little remaining of the residential areas of the city, leaving a large gap in understanding the daily lives of the population. Tombs and two significant sanctuaries are the most reliable sources in helping piece together Marion's social and political fabric. While the architecture is important, it is the votives still *in situ* at the sanctuaries and tombs that are invaluable for historical research. Greek and Egyptian imports are present in both mortuary and votive contexts, along with objects from the Near East.⁴⁹ The presence of these diverse materials and their varied plastic quality illustrates foreign influence through trade and local colonization as well as the large

⁴⁷ Ibid., 93.

⁴⁸ Karageorghis, *Cyprus*, 158-159.

⁴⁹ Childs, "Marion a City Kingdom," 94; and Karageorghis, *Cyprus*, 139.

demographic of those coming and going from the harbor city, and its inhabitants who lived and died there.

In the early fifth century BC, political rivalry arose among Cyprus' ten independent city-kingdoms, including Marion.⁵⁰ Diodorus Siculus, in his history of Cyprus, writes that the Athenian general Kimon attacked the Persians on Cyprus in 450 BC including the city of Marion.⁵¹ In 315 BC, Marion joined alliances with Antigonus who was fighting against Ptolemy Soter for supreme power in the Diadochi wars.⁵² Unfortunately, in 312 BC, Ptolemy gained control of Cyprus and destroyed Marion, moving its inhabitants to Cyprus' new capital at Paphos.⁵³

Although calamitous in its demise, the passing of the ancient city of Marion is fortuitous for archaeologists. The ancient seizure of the city and the abrupt relocation of its citizens, left two sanctuaries in isolation along with a staggering number of offerings. Unlike most other religious sites excavated on Cyprus, thousands of votives were preserved in their original context. Furthermore, the excavation of these sanctuaries was impeccable, offering detailed information of the objects and the exact location of where they were left thousands of years ago – something absent from the excavations and remains of many other Cypriote sites.

⁵⁰ Karageorghis, *Cyprus*, 157. The ten contentious kingdoms were Salamis, Marion, Lapethos, Tamassos, Idalion, Paphos, Kourion, Kyrenia, Amathus, and Kition.

⁵¹ Childs, "Marion: A City-Kingdom," 92. Diodorus writes his history during the first century B.C.

⁵² Serwint, "The Terracotta Sculpture from Ancient Marion," 391; Diodorus (19.79.4)

⁵³ Childs, "Marion: A City-Kingdom," 93.

Sanctuaries and Religious Practices

In Cyprus, the seventh and sixth centuries BC were the heyday for rural and urban sanctuaries.⁵⁴ The edifices, both humble and extravagant, were religious and social centers where the public came to communicate with deities in hopes of changing their current position in life, whether it be social, political or personal. In Cyprus, as well as abroad, sanctuaries were not only a place of worship, but also a center for the arts⁵⁵ – offering space for textile work, coroplasty, and the creation of offerings to be purchased by those wishing to show their patronage in a tangible form.

Due to plentiful sources of clay and the lack of quality stone quarries, terracotta figurines were the more affordable and versatile type of votive and found in abundance in Cypriote sanctuaries. When given as an offering, the terracotta figures were positioned on benches around an altar or oftentimes filling the courtyard of the sanctuary. The high volume of visitors to these sacred sites caused the number of votives to often exceed capacity – in this exceptional case, the priest or priestess would sometimes bury the offerings in a pit within the sanctuary or just outside its walls, so that space would be available for new votives.⁵⁶

The earlier of the two sanctuaries discovered at Marion is the one on the Peristeries plateau, located within the urban center of the ancient city and showing evidence of use for more than a century.⁵⁷ Occupation around the sanctuary dates back to

⁵⁴ Karageorghis, *Cyprus*, 139.

⁵⁵ Smith, Weir and Serwint, “The Sanctuaries of Marion,” 167.

⁵⁶ Karageorghis, *Cyprus*, 140.

⁵⁷ See Figure 2 for a map of the two sanctuaries at Marion.

as early as the first millennium BC, while the structure's final phase falls within the fifth century BC.⁵⁸ There is little evidence showing signs of destruction, suggesting that the sanctuary slowly passed into abandonment and decay.⁵⁹ Objects and spaces within the religious structure and its surrounding area suggest that it served a local community of artisans.⁶⁰ Tools and materials related to textile work, metalwork, and the coroplastic arts point to the sanctuary as not only housing a deity, but also providing space for those creating offerings for worship.⁶¹ This dual function of space was not only convenient, but also profitable and most likely influenced the long duration of its usage.

Unfortunately, like most of the city site, the Peristeries sanctuary lacks historical references to its patron gods and their accompanying rituals of worship. Most of the votives, however, are female, and include an Astarte image, indicating worship of a female deity with a connection to fertility.⁶² Interestingly, the modern location of the site – Peristeries – is Greek for “pigeons” or “doves,” the sacred bird of Astarte,⁶³ another confirmation of the probability that the sanctuary served a female fertility goddess.

Along with the Astarte figurine were votives of sacred trees, a few male figurines, bronze drinking vessels, stone sculpture, jewelry, faience, and incense burners.⁶⁴ The large number of offerings present within the religious structure suggests that it was

⁵⁸ Smith, Weir and Serwint., 172. Many of the figurines found in the Peristeries sanctuary are the female figurines with uplifted arms, dating back at least to the late ninth century BC.

⁵⁹ Serwint, “The Terracotta Sculpture from Ancient Marion: Recent Discoveries,” 392.

⁶⁰ Childs, “Marion: A City Kingdom,” 99.

⁶¹ Smith, Weir and Serwint, “The Sanctuaries of Marion,” 178. Found materials include worked animal bone, slag, ceramic wasters, as well as chunks of red and yellow ochre.

⁶² Serwint, “The Terracotta Sculpture from Ancient Marion: Recent Discoveries,” 393.

⁶³ Smith, Weir and Serwint, “The Sanctuaries of Marion,” 174.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 172.

frequented by a dense traffic of worshippers. Further confirmation of its popularity is the discovery of an extensive bothros, located just outside the walls of the religious structure, containing a large volume of terracotta figurines.⁶⁵

In the locality of Maratheri, positioned on a bluff overlooking the sea, is the other sanctuary of Marion dating as early as the seventh century and lasting until the fourth century BC.⁶⁶ The religious center, both in its architectural features and archaeological finds, is very different from the Peristeries sanctuary. Unlike Peristeries, Maratheri does not show any signs of artisan workshops.⁶⁷

The votives found in and around the Maratheri site are staggering in number, more than 4,000, and suggest the worship of both a male and female deity. Maratheri contained offerings in both female and male form, including an Aphrodite and Eros statue, a colossal male Egyptianizing terracotta sculpture, chariot cars⁶⁸ and a large number of horse and rider fragments.⁶⁹ Although it is not known for certain what immortals were worshipped, ancient sources point to two particular divinities. In the late

⁶⁵ Serwint, "The Terracotta Sculpture from Ancient Marion: Recent Discoveries," 399-402. The bothros also contained a large number of charcoal fragments and many figurines showing purposeful dismemberment. These findings suggest that the bothros was filled during a phase when the sanctuary was partially destroyed by a fire. Dr. Nancy Serwint suggests that the dismemberment of the figurines was deliberate and possibly a ritual de-sanctification.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 391. The earliest sculptural finds at the site date to the seventh century BC. See Figure 2 for a map indicating the location of the Maratheri sanctuary.

⁶⁷ Smith, Weir and Serwint, "The Sanctuaries of Marion," 182. Terracotta loom weights were found in the forecourt of the sanctuary but are believed to be votive in nature.

⁶⁸ Serwint, "The Terracotta Sculpture from Marion," 214. Within the Maratheri sanctuary, fragments of at least six different chariot cars were uncovered. These types of votive offerings are common for male divinities at other sanctuary sites including Kourion, Ayia Irini, and Meniko.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 216; and Serwint, "The Terracotta from Ancient Marion: Recent Discoveries," 384. The statuette also indicates the presence of Attic Greek influence in Marion.

fourth century BC, coins commemorating King Stasioikos II⁷⁰ depict the two Greek gods Aphrodite and Zeus.⁷¹ The Greek geographer Strabo mentions a grove of Zeus from his sailings around the island of Cyprus.⁷² And a later inscription from the time of Tiberius⁷³ indicates the presence of a sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite and Zeus at Marion, later known as Arsinoe.⁷⁴

Although the dedication of the Maratheri sanctuary to Aphrodite and Zeus is tentative, what is known, however, is the staunch devotion of worshippers by way of their material offerings. During the sanctuary's zenith in the fifth century BC, its architectural components included a double-colonnaded forecourt with a three-stepped staircase leading to a porch and inner room.⁷⁵ The forecourt, a designated area for dedicated votives, was flooded with terracotta figurines, as well as Attic and East Greek pottery and Egyptian faience.⁷⁶

Similar to the votives of the Peristeries bothros, the offerings in the Maratheri sanctuary show signs of deliberate destruction, specifically to the heads of the figures.⁷⁷ The Maratheri votives displayed in the forecourt were also excavated *in situ*, with little

⁷⁰ Karageorghis, *Cyprus*, 161. King Stasiokos II was the Marion king who constructed the palace of the settlement at Vouni.

⁷¹ Smith, Weir and Serwint, "The Sanctuaries of Marion," 171.

⁷² Smith, "Histories of Archaeology at Polis Chrysochous," 27. Strabo's recordings date between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D..

⁷³ Hieronymos Peristianes, *Genikē historia tēs nēsou Kyprou apo tōn archaiotatōn chronōn mechri tēs Anglikēs katochēs* (Leukosia: typ. Phōnēs tēs Kyprou, 1910).

⁷⁴ Childs, "Marion: A City Kingdom," 93.

⁷⁵ Serwint, "The Terracotta Sculpture from Marion," 214.

⁷⁶ Smith, Weir and Serwint, "The Sanctuaries at Marion," 182.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 183. Smith, Weir and Serwint indicate that the angle of fracture present at the neckline of the figures indicates that rather than accidental fragmentation, the heads had to have been purposefully snapped from their bodies.

disturbance to their original positioning by a devotee or placement by a sanctuary priest or priestess. This may be due, in large part, to the thick layer of ash discovered during excavation, suggesting that this area of the sanctuary was subject to a fire that made the area unusable.⁷⁸

Excavations

Marion includes extensive cemeteries and tombs, dating from the Cypro-Geometric to the Byzantine periods.⁷⁹ Pillaged by private collectors and self proclaimed archaeologists alike, the tombs have quite a long history of “investigations.” One noteworthy operation was by Rupert Gunnis, an affiliate with the Cyprus Museum, and one of the many who “excavated” tombs throughout Cyprus for the museum’s gain, as well as his own. In the summer of 1927, Gunnis explored the remains of Marion.⁸⁰ Like those before him, he visited the tombs, shipping many of his findings to the museum as well as private collectors, with little to no documentation.

In 1929, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition reached Polis, conducting the first professional excavation and documentation of the ancient site of Marion.⁸¹ The expedition was led by Einar Gjerstad and included two of his students: Erik Sjöqvist and Alfred Westholm, and also architect John Lindros. Ninety-eight tombs were excavated in

⁷⁸ Serwint, “The Terracotta Sculpture at Marion,” 214.

⁷⁹ Einar Gjerstad et al., *The Sweedish Cyprus Expedition, Vol. II: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927-1931*, 182.

⁸⁰ Smith, “Histories of Archaeology at Polis Chrysochous,” 34.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 35-36. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition started their excavations on the island in 1926 under the sponsorship of Sigurd Curman, the King’s Custodian of Antiquities in Sweden. Of the three archaeologists managing the excavations throughout Cyprus, it is young Erik Sjöqvist who conducted the investigations in and around Polis. He eventually aided in the development of Princeton University’s excavation of Cyprus by mentoring then student William A. P. Childs who renewed excavations in the area of Polis Chrysochous.

the area of Marion and Arsinoe.⁸² The expedition's focus on the burial grounds was due, in part, to the guaranteed lucrativeness of tomb goods. Although evidence of past looting may answer the reason why equestrian terracottas are not recorded at the Marion tombs excavated by the SCE, ample mortuary gifts were recorded suggesting that at Marion, equestrian terracottas were solely used as votives in sanctuaries.⁸³

The two sanctuaries of Marion were initially explored in 1927, by the same Rupert Gunnis who exploited the city's cemeteries and tombs. Within less than a week, Gunnis uncovered five hundred statues, statuettes and figurines, many of which were sold to tourists to fund the Cyprus museum, or included in his own private collection.⁸⁴ By 1960 the Cyprus Archaeological Survey and excavations by the Department of Antiquities reached the area of Polis Chrysochou and its surrounding region, with a specific focus on tombs.⁸⁵ In general, the sanctuaries of Marion were left untouched until the late twentieth century when, in 1983, Princeton University began extensive, systematic excavation of the urban portion of Marion, particularly its two prominent sanctuaries.

The extensive, and colorful, history of interest and excavations conducted at Marion indicates the collective understanding of its importance as an ancient Cypriote

⁸² Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, 184.

⁸³ Gjerstad et al., *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* 2, 185-187. The SCE documented evidence of looting by tomb robbers in a number of the tombs at Marion. In their account of over ninety tombs excavated, there is not one single mention of a horse and rider terracotta figurine.

⁸⁴ Smith, Weir, Serwint, "The Sanctuaries of Marion," 34. With Gunnis' passing, his private collection, including objects from the sanctuaries of Marion, were sold at auction to private collectors, as well as museums.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

site. Noticeable is the scarce documentation of horse and rider terracottas uncovered at Marion until its excavation by Princeton University.⁸⁶ This not only questions the existence of Marion equestrian terracottas as unprovenanced objects in other collections, but also elevates the importance of Princeton's horse and rider figurines and the need to examine the entirety of the corpus.

⁸⁶ The only exceptions are two horse and rider figurines – one in the collection of the Louvre and the other on display at the Paphos District Museum. Both are documented as coming from tombs around Polis and will be discussed later in the thesis (see Chapter 4).

CHAPTER 3

HORSE AND RIDER FIGURINES FROM ANCIENT MARION

Currently, there is a lack of substantial archaeological evidence indicating the presence of horses at the ancient site of Marion.⁸⁷ Unlike neighboring city-kingdoms such as Salamis, where an exceptional group of royal horse burials has produced riding accoutrements, Marion does not have a direct reference to equestrian practice. The presence of horses is a possibility but unconfirmed, with the only representation of equids displayed in Marion's terracotta corpus, most notably the chariot assemblages and horse and rider figurines.

Establishing Typologies

Over the past thirty years, the two sanctuaries at ancient Marion have yielded over 30,000 terracotta figures and fragments. The Maratheri sanctuary alone has produced more than 4,000 terracotta figures, varying in size and style. Although documented in the past as the find spot for over 150 terracotta fragments of horses and horsemen,⁸⁸ further examination by this thesis indicates that the number of definite horse and rider figurines is considerably smaller in size.

The highly fragmentary state of the terracotta votives found at the sanctuaries makes the identification of horse and rider figurines challenging. A large number of legs, limbless torsos and disjointed heads of both horse and human makes the identification of

⁸⁷ Smith, Weir, Serwint, "The Sanctuaries of Marion," 178. There are clear indications of the use of carts, but these could have been pulled by a donkey or an ox, just as well as a horse.

⁸⁸ Serwint, "The Terracotta Sculpture from Ancient Marion: Recent Discoveries," 384.

their original appearance more speculative than conclusive. With the complication of identification in mind, this thesis only includes figurines and fragments showing clear signs of a horse and rider composition, explaining the smaller number of confirmed equestrian terracottas than previously published.

Determining the horse and rider type among a highly fragmented corpus requires a figurine or fragment to include recognizable remnants of both a horse and its rider. Only a few figurines within the collection are nearly complete in composition, with the majority of the assemblage requiring closer study. A horse is considered part of a horse and rider composition if a fragment of the rider is still intact - such as a hand on the mane, or the presence of a rider's leg or torso. Some inference is allowed; if an indentation, significant worn spot, or clay build-up is present along the withers of the horse or directly behind its mane, it is most likely that a rider once existed on the back of the horse, assigning the figure to a horse and rider configuration. Identifying a figure as an equestrian requires stricter requisites - if a figure is not attached to a recognizable horse body part, it has to have a curvature in its upper legs signifying the figure's straddling of a horse.

These constraints on identifying a horse and rider type, undoubtedly excluded an abundant number of fragments once equestrian in nature. The excavated areas where Marion's horse and riders were found also included handmade heads, molded heads and broken bodies of both human and horse, suggesting numerous possibilities of horse and rider compositions, but lacking a reliable connection. Another dilemma ensued with the

presence of finely detailed accoutrements on a number of horse bodies but the lack of rider remains. Although inclusion of these figures is tempting, the horses could easily belong to a chariot group and, as a result, cases of these inconsistencies were not included in this research. The exclusion of so many contenders for the horse and rider type is unfortunate, but necessary, in order to ensure that the research presented in this thesis is based on fact rather than assumption.

The Corpus

Forty-seven terracotta fragments from the Princeton excavations at Marion present clear evidence of an equestrian configuration. Forty-four of these were uncovered within the confines of the Archaic/Classical sanctuary of Maratheri. The remaining figural fragments of horse and rider type were found in the earlier Archaic sanctuary at Peristeries. A rich variety of styles and decorations from such a small corpus demonstrate the abounding diversity of horse and rider representations produced at Marion. It also adds complexity to the study of the figures and, as a result, the material will be dissected according to technique, style and composition of horsemen, style and composition of horses, and renderings of costume and equipment.

Technique

The Marion coroplast was very inventive in configuring horse and rider figurines. Both horse and rider are displayed in a combination of molded and handmade techniques. The clay has a variety of soft, warm colors ranging from a light yellow to a deep, burnt reddish-orange. Many of the surfaces of these figures retain traces of fingerprints, left by

the coroplast before the firing of the clay. Even the smallest, appliquéd adornment of a horse or rider shows the faint lines of fingermarks, indicating the creator's physical involvement with the figures and their detail.

Research for this thesis includes the Munsell identification number of each figure's clay fabric.⁸⁹ Most of the horse and rider figurines fall within the reddish yellow of 5YR, the pink of 7.5YR and the very pale brown of 10YR.. There are a few figures of the group that have very different Munsell numbers, suggesting that those figures were created by a different coroplast or at a different location than the others.

In most cases, the horse body is handmade with the equine head formed separately by mold and then attached to the body before firing. The legs and tail of the horse are made by hand and applied before the figure is placed in a kiln. The horseman was also handmade with an occasional molded head. After being formed, the rider was attached to the horse's back before being placed in the kiln. Retouching of the clay figures before firing, including decorative incisions and appliquéd ornamentation, is also present although less common.

Similar to coroplastic practices of the ancient Greek world, painted decoration occurs before the firing process.⁹⁰ Of the forty-seven equestrian terracottas, forty-one

⁸⁹ Riemer Knoop, "Distinguishing Colours: A colorimetric approach to architectural terracottas from Satricum (*Le Ferriere, Latina*)," in *BABESCH* 88 (2013): 89-98. The Munsell Color System is numerical in description and was developed in the United States in the early 1900s. When used correctly, it is a three-dimensional notation system that incorporates hue, value and chroma, lightness and purity. Both value and chroma refer to a ten-step range from dark to light indicating the degree of saturation.

⁹⁰ Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 188. There are two methods of applying pigment found in the ancient Greek world: the earlier practice being its addition to clay before

display traces of pigment. The figures lacking painted detail are heavily disfigured, and significantly worn. The poor condition of these figures might suggest that their plain appearance once, in fact, were painted, considering the majority of the horse and rider corpus have the presence of pigment. None of the horses or their riders are entirely covered in paint. A black mineral pigment was only used for details of the rider's facial features and the accoutrements and facial features of the horse. Red ochre was used for the remaining decoration of the horse and its rider, such as the dress, hair and superficial ornamentation.

The Marion horse and rider corpus includes a large range of sizes, however, the fragmentary state of the figures only allows estimations of their original size. Of the thirty-four horse-body fragments, the smallest⁹¹ measures 7.84cm in preserved height and 7.72cm in preserved length, while the largest of the group measures 12.34cm in preserved height and 15.68cm in preserved length – almost twice the size of the smallest figure. Of the seven riders whose bodies are distinguishable but still fractured, there is little differentiation in size. With limbs excluded, the smallest measures at 6.1cm of preserved height and the largest at 8.81cm of preserved height, with both of them approximating to 2.5cm from shoulder to shoulder.

firing and the later being the application of an “all over” coat of white lime wash as a ground with various colors painted over it.

⁹¹ Both the “smallest” and “largest” horse bodies were determined by the preserved length of the horse, when the body from chest to rump was still intact. This was the only dependable measurement that could be used for comparison, since none of the horse and rider figurines include both legs and head to determine actual height. The horse's width, although documented, varies with no correlation to the figure's overall size.

Of the forty-seven figurines under assessment, eight of them are sufficiently intact to give some sense as to the ratio in size between the horse and the rider. Seven of the eight figures have their legs heavily fragmented, so observations cannot be conclusive, but all seven indicate that the rider and horse are roughly the same height. The eighth figure is the only one where the horse is substantially larger than its rider.

Horsemen: Style and Composition

Seven riders, of significant preservation, are included in the corpus; three are entirely handmade; three have molded heads attached to handmade bodies; and one, unfortunately, is fragmented above the shoulders. Interestingly, of these seven riders, those with molded heads have their horses still intact, while the riders rendered entirely by hand are missing their mounts, which seems to be a matter of chance.⁹² The riders within the entire corpus, including those highly fragmented, were attached to the horse directly behind its neck, with each leg resting on the forelegs of the horse. The rider sits astride the horse's withers, leaning forward toward the mane.

Both the handmade riders and those with molded heads have the most attention and detail paid to their facial characteristics. Two of the handmade riders have smooth heads; their ears, nose and chin are prominently formed by the addition of pellets. One of these riders has a nose and brow formed by the coroplast pinching the front of the face

⁹² It is possible that the coroplast gave extra care in adhering the riders, with molded heads, to their horses. Molds were commonly imported and, therefore, expensive. The molded heads are also larger in size, making the composition top-heavy and, as a result, the rider would need extra adhesion in order to stay upright during firing. This extra weight could also account for the riders' leaning into the mane of the horse.

with his index finger and thumb (Pl V:3).⁹³ This particular horseman, although appearing to be molded, is decidedly handmade because of smoothing finger marks continuing down the back of the figure from the head to the waist.

The three riders with molded heads (Pl I:5; Pl II:1; Pl VII:1) are similar in the way their facial characteristics are rendered.⁹⁴ All three have youthful, clean-shaven faces framed by lightly incised hair. The eyes and mouth are incised and the nose and chin are prominent. At the base of the neck, all three riders bear markings where the head was attached to the neck. One rider shows deep incisions along the neckline, suggesting that the mold included the front of the neck as well as the head (Pl I:5).⁹⁵

Of these three riders with molded heads, only one has noticeable traces of pigment directly on the molded features of the face and head (Pl VII:1).⁹⁶ The horseman has remnants of black pigment encircling his eyes and a large red crescent painted across the mouth.⁹⁷ Due to the severe weathering of the face, it is unclear if the red pigment resembles a beard, tattoo or the coroplast's additional emphasis of the mouth. The same rider also has red pigment covering his helmet.

Six of the seven equestrian bodies are clearly handmade, simple in form, with broad shoulders, tapered waists, and legs flaring out to fit astride a horse (Pl I:5).⁹⁸ Two

⁹³ R14754/TC6212.

⁹⁴ R1746/TC140; R1756/TC147; R21863/TC8925.

⁹⁵ R1746/TC140.

⁹⁶ R21863/TC8925.

⁹⁷ The use of pigment for the eyes and mouth is unique because both facial features were previously rendered with the molding of the face.

⁹⁸ It is possible that part of the body of rider R1746/TC140 was mouldmade because his folded garment across the shoulders. However, the arms and legs are clearly handmade.

of the four riders have their arms reaching outward, in order to grasp the horse's mane or painted reins. The other five riders have arms reaching down towards the waist, holding on to the nape of the horse's neck. The hands are shaped like a pincer, emphasizing the grasp of the mane or reins of the horse (Pl I:5).⁹⁹ The bodies are thin and more angular than rounded, most likely smoothed with the pressure of a flat tool or the coroplast's finger. The three horsemen with molded heads are slightly fuller in body mass. When present, the arms and legs of the riders are tubular in shape, rolled by hand and attached to the body before firing.

Horses: Style and Composition

Of the forty-seven terracotta fragments included in this corpus, forty-two involve the remnants of a horse. Most of the horse heads are molded, with the addition of handmade ears. The horses' bodies, neck, legs, and tail are all handmade, created separately and then joined together before being placed in the kiln.

The shapes of the horses vary. Their composition is either stocky or spindly with a cylindrical or square torso and the neck rendered in a triangular or cylindrical shape. All of the horse bodies are solid, rather than hollow. Some of the necks have a slight curve forward, giving the horse an "S" composition, but most of the horses have a fairly linear neck. The legs, when present, are spread at an obtuse angle, with the forelegs projecting forward, giving the horse a sense of motion.¹⁰⁰ The legs are almost always

⁹⁹ R1746/TC140.

¹⁰⁰ Of the less fractured legs, the ends are rounded or flat, suggesting that the spreading of the legs also aided in the figurine being able to stand upright on its own.

triangular/wedge-shaped, tapering down, away from the body (Pl IX:1).¹⁰¹ The tail is handmade and is positioned in one of three ways - curved along one of the horse's hind legs, extending out horizontally from the horse, or hanging vertically towards the ground. The number of tails falling to the left side of the horse's flanks and the number of tails falling to the right side are almost identical.¹⁰² This evidence seems to indicate a lack of correlation between the way the tail falls and the overall composition of the horse.

The head of the horse displays the most detail. Two different types of shapes are the most common – either the head is slender and pointed (Pl VI:5)¹⁰³ or thick and angular with a defined jaw and square muzzle (Pl I:5).¹⁰⁴ The more angular of the equine heads are clearly molded, as well as the majority of the more delicately rendered heads. When present, the nostrils are pierced, and on occasion the mouth is incised. Ears are attached on each side of the mane. The mane usually starts with a high forelock, sometimes curved, and occasionally includes a high pompom. Continuing down the neck, the mane is either applied or drawn out of the horse's neck by the pinching of the clay by the coroplasts' fingers and occasionally incised with lines (Pl III:4).¹⁰⁵ Some of the hairstyles are dramatic, flaring out in a fanlike shape.

A commonplace form of decoration among the Marion horse and riders is the simple painting of linear forms. Thirty-six of the horses display some form of painted

¹⁰¹ An extreme example of the wedge- shaped legs are those of R24324/TC9357.

¹⁰² Of the thirty-four horse bodies, ten of the horses have a tail that falls along the right hind leg, nine of the horses have a tail falling along the left hind leg, and eleven horses are missing their tail altogether.

¹⁰³ R21522/TC8811.

¹⁰⁴ R1746/TC140.

¹⁰⁵ R4315/TC1176, although faint, has a very small line between the thumb and the rest of the fingers. This very well could be circumstantial, occurring post-manufacture.

decoration. No matter how fragmented or worn, most of the horses show traces of red or black lines along their hindquarters, horizontally along the torso, or up and down the forelegs and neck. In some cases the lines alternate in color between black and red, but red is the color of choice (Pl IX:5; Pl VIII:2).¹⁰⁶

There are some instances where pigment seems to be poured onto the horse rather than carefully applied. One figure has what appears to be a dark red saddle, covering its entire back with straps or tassels painted in a quick, downward motion (Pl III:1).¹⁰⁷ Another horse has its right side completely covered in red paint, while the left side is absent of pigment (Pl III:2).¹⁰⁸ Impromptu splashes of pigment also frequent many of the horses' tails and manes.

Horsemen: Costume and Equipment

Horsemen from the Marion collection exhibit the coroplast's attentiveness to the rendering of the headdress and other cranial embellishments. Two of the riders have smooth heads, sometimes categorized by archaeologists as "bareheaded," that could represent a round skullcap indicated by paint.¹⁰⁹ Another horseman has a pointed cap with a thick band stretching horizontally across the brow. The band could represent the

¹⁰⁶ R25827/TC9836 has bands of red and black paint encircling the torso, while the chest of R24294/TC9327 is covered haphazard in radiating black and red lines.

¹⁰⁷ The sloppiness of the painted decoration on R2111/TC318 signifies either indifference, a need for unexpected hurriedness, or lack of skill by the coroplast.

¹⁰⁸ The lack of paint on the left side of R2178/TC346 might indicate the horse was originally standing upright, next to another object when painted.

¹⁰⁹ Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 197.

brim of the cap or a fillet, even a Greek *pilos*.¹¹⁰ However, the thickness of the band is more likely a representation of tied up earflaps, a local feature displayed at many ancient Cypriot sites, but also similar to a “Phrygian cap” depicted on late Assyrian monuments.¹¹¹

One of the molded heads of a rider has a helmet with cheek guards (Pl VII:1).¹¹² Although weathered and curvilinear in shape, the headgear is decidedly a helmet rather than a cap with earflaps because of the stiff composition and brim slightly set off from the forehead. There also is a ridge along the horseman’s chin and jawline, possibly suggesting a chinstrap. The cheek pieces are more rounded and extend to the jawline. Although tempting to categorize as a Greek helmet, this headgear does not resemble their sharp angles and, therefore, could potentially be recognized as Cypriote in origin.¹¹³ A faint seam between the forehead and helmet suggests that the helmet and head of the rider were made separately, with the face molded and the other features handmade.

Two of the handmade riders have lappets attached below the ears, falling to rest along the neck and onto the shoulders.¹¹⁴ One of the riders with a molded face has two handmade lappets smoothed into lightly incised waves of hair (Pl II:1).¹¹⁵ This hybrid of

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 198. A Greek *pilos* makes its appearance in Cypriote coroplasty sometime during the sixth century BC. It is a semi-pointed cap with a simple hat-band.

¹¹¹ Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV, 2, 132f and Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 197-201. A Phrygian cap is a low cap with a rounded apex curled forward. Its earflaps are up. This type of headgear becomes popular among Cypriote horsemen during the 6th century with Cyprus’ assimilation into the Persian Empire.

¹¹² R21863/TC8925. Unlike many Cypriote horsemen, the cheek pieces are part of the helmet and not additional pieces of clay.

¹¹³ Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 200.

¹¹⁴ A lappet is a hanging fold of a headdress.

¹¹⁵ R1756/TC147.

lappets and textured hair could be the coroplast's shorthand for a number of different headdress types. One possible interpretation is the mitra, a long strip of cloth made from wool and worn by the Cypriote elite, twisted around the head.¹¹⁶ The problem with this explanation is that most mitras include a thick band across the crown of the head, which is not visible on this horseman from Marion. The addition of the lappets to the hair might also indicate a simplified tiara with attached lappets but, again, the lack of a noticeable band across the head makes this unlikely. It could very well be that, in this case, the coroplast overlooked the application of the band or its absence was an act of artistic license.

Of the riders present in the Marion collection, three have clearly visible garments either rendered by mold or carefully added in clay by the coroplast. All three of these horsemen have molded faces. One garment has raised, diagonal lines across the rider's right shoulder down toward the waist (Pl I:5).¹¹⁷ These lines could illustrate the neckline of the garment but, in any case, plainly suggest a form of drapery. The other two horsemen with molded faces have remnants of a tunic flaring out behind them from underneath a possible cuirass and, in one instance, it is slightly draped on the back and sides of the horse.¹¹⁸ Arguably, this could be the illustration of a saddle cushion, but the way it is smoothed into the back of the rider suggests an extension of the garments. There

¹¹⁶ Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 200. The mitra has been attributed to Cypriote horsemen in battle and different from Greek headdress. Herodotus attributes the headgear to that of royalty.

¹¹⁷ R1746/TC140.

¹¹⁸ The cuirass is protective armor for the torso. In its early development, the cuirass was a frontal piece alone and later developed into a front piece attached to one on the back.

is a possibility that these flared bits of clay could be a simple binding agent for the horse and its rider, rather than a garment.

The remaining attire visibly present on Marion's horsemen are rendered in red pigment. A rider with a molded head has a red, diagonal line painted across his chest from right to left (Pl VII:1).¹¹⁹ This broad band, along with the raised drapery of the other rider, could represent a Greek himation.¹²⁰ A horseman missing his head has a thin, horizontal line across his chest, connecting a painted cloak, or chlamys of Near Eastern origin, that wraps around his shoulders (Pl V:4).¹²¹ In the back, the cloak's collar line is in the shape of a "V" with a thick, red crisscross extending up onto the back of the rider's neck and head. The same figure also has a red line encircling his neck, with radiating, vertical marks. This could illustrate either a piece of jewelry or the neckline of a basic undergarment.

Another horseman has his chest and back covered in red pigment, with the surface area of paint continuing up the back of the neck and down his legs (Pl I:2).¹²² Unfortunately, the rider is missing his limbs so it is unclear what garment is being illustrated. However, two of the horsemen with molded faces have red pigment covering their arms; one with vertical red lines, the other with arms completely covered (Pl I:5; Pl

¹¹⁹ R21863/TC8925.

¹²⁰ Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 211. Both of these horsemen have lines painted diagonally across their chest from right to left. This could represent a mantle similar to the Greek himation that left one arm free.

¹²¹ R14779/TC6231. Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 211. The chlamys is of Eastern origin and part of a standard costume for Cypriote terracotta horsemen that is present in the sixth century BC.

¹²² R505/TC7.

VII:1).¹²³ These garments could represent a long-sleeve shirt and tight trousers of Eastern attire visible on many Cypriote terracotta horsemen in the sixth century BC.¹²⁴

Horses: Costume and Equipment

Twelve horses from the Marion equestrian terracottas have some type of applied decoration or accoutrement.¹²⁵ A unique example of decoration application is a horse body fragment from the Peristeries sanctuary (Pl I:1).¹²⁶ The horse is worn, with little decoration but on its back is an appliquéd saddle. The accoutrement is made by the coroplast pressing his thumb into the center of a round piece of clay, which is then attached to the horse's back in order to illustrate a saddle/saddle blanket. At least three other horses display a saddle blanket or saddle, usually visible as a round cushion between the rider and the horse. Most of these representations are painted. One horse has a saddle in red pigment with long, radiating tassels (Pl III:1).¹²⁷ Another horse, although worn, displays chromatic black and red lines painted horizontally along the sides and flank of the horse, suggesting the border design of a saddle blanket (Pl III:2).¹²⁸

A rare form of clay decoration among the Marion horse and riders is a horse head adorned with an appliquéd bridle (Pl V:2).¹²⁹ Only the cheek straps remain – formed by two thin strips of clay, stretching horizontally from the incision of the horse's mouth, to

¹²³ R1746/TC140; R21863.

¹²⁴ Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 211).

¹²⁵ See Appendix for diagram of horse trappings and anatomical terms.

¹²⁶ R363/TC2. Only two horse and rider figures were found at the Peristeries sanctuary.

¹²⁷ R2111/TC318.

¹²⁸ R2178/TC346.

¹²⁹ The clay addition of a bridle is most common on chariot horses, but the remains of a rider's hand on the right side of R14664/TC6136 indicates that it belongs to a horse and rider composition.

the back of its head as part of the headstall. Discoloration along the nostrils of the horse suggests that the nose strap of the bridle was also added in clay. With this horse being the exception, most of the bridles of the Marion horses are painted and include a nose strap, front strap or frontlet, cheek straps, and an occasional joining of side straps to painted reins. Because of the worn and fragmentary state of the figurines, oftentimes what remains visible is the rendering of side straps and an occasional frontlet.

Eleven horses display a diadem or headdress placed between the horse's ears. It is usually in the form of a thick, flat band that tilts back towards the ears at an acute angle. Most of the headdresses are fragmented, however, one example shows a high, pointed crest, resting on the front of a horse's forelock. Two headdresses present in the collection are shaped almost like a disc, with one entirely covering the horse's ears.

Another type of equipage present on a number of the horses is a plate or laddering across the chest. Comprised of parallel bands or lines within an outline covering the horse's front, laddering represents a cloth protector or armor. It can also cover the forelegs and lower portion of the horse's neck. A painted chest plate, more commonly found on chariot horses, is found on one of the horses within the corpus (PI IV:3).¹³⁰ The square armor is outlined in red with a horizontal line across the middle. The plate is painted hanging around the neck of the horse.

There are two examples of linear decoration that might prove to be more than mere embellishment. One horse has a thick, black line on each leg, painted alongside the

¹³⁰ R4393/TC1232. The remains of a rider's legs on both sides of the horse clearly indicate that it is of horse and rider type, rather than chariot type.

laddering and continuing up at an angle towards the horse's withers. Other fragmented horse bodies show remnants of black paint in the same area but less defined. This rendering could represent leg guards for the rider, which were often attached to the outer edge of a horse's chest plate or other type of frontal armor. R4393/TC1232 seems to confirm this probability, with thick triangles covering the legs of both the horse and rider (Pl IV:3).

CHAPTER 4

MARION EQUESTRIAN TERRACOTTAS FROM OTHER COLLECTIONS

There are very few collections outside of the Princeton excavations that include horse and rider figurines from ancient Marion. This is due, in large part, to the previous lack of archaeological investigations in the sanctuary areas, with a more dedicated focus on the tombs. Interestingly, none of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition publications include a single equestrian terracotta from the ninety-eight tombs excavated throughout the Polis Chrysochous area. There are two horse and rider figurines, however, that come from other collections and are documented as originating from the Marion tombs. One is housed in the Paphos District Museum (see Figure 3) and the other is part of the Louvre's Cypriote antiquities collection (see Figure 4). The equestrian terracotta in the Paphos District Museum is labeled from Marion, while the one from the Louvre is said to be from Arsinoe. Both are indicated as coming from tombs and are almost identical in composition. When compared to those from Marion's sanctuaries, however, the tomb figures have distinct and somewhat different appearances.

What has to be kept in mind when comparing these two "outside sources" to those of Princeton's is the overall fragmented nature of the corpus. The two horse and rider figures from the tombs are almost entirely intact, while the figurines from the sanctuaries are severely fractured. A first glance might find it hard to connect the tomb horse and rider terracottas to those from the sanctuaries, but after closer study, these two equestrian

compositions might be the necessary link in understanding what the sanctuary horse and rider votives might have looked like, before their fragmentary state.

The equestrian figurine from the Marion tomb is 14.8cm tall, while the horse and rider from the Arsinoe tomb measures at 17.3cm in height and 14cm in length. The riders are almost completely intact, except for the tips of their legs. One of the horses is missing his muzzle and parts of his mane, with reconstructed legs added during conservation. The other horse, however, is entirely intact.

The riders are both perched along the withers of the horse, tucked up against the back of the mane, with legs resting on either of the horse's forelegs. The equestrian leans back, with pincer-like hands resting on each side of the horse's neck. The rider is handmade and slim in shape, with appliquéd facial features. Atop the head is a pointed cap with a thick brim. Directly underneath the headdress are round pellets either representing ears or ornamentation. Lappets are attached to the pellets, hanging down to rest on the rider's shoulders. The rider from Arsinoe has the lappets continuing down to cross in front of his chest. Additional pellets also form the nose and mouth. It is unclear, from the available museum photographs, whether or not the eyes are painted.

The horses also lean slightly back, demonstrating an arched sense of motion. The muzzle with accentuated jawline and modeled eyes indicates that the head was molded and attached to the handmade body. A prominent forelock rises behind the ears and a tail curves down the back of the horse's hind leg – one figurine has it lying against the right leg, while the other has the tail resting on the left leg.

Although faint, there are clear indications of painted decoration on both horses. The horse from the tomb at Arsinoe has dark, vertical red strokes along the front of the forelegs and continuing up the horse's neck. There are also remnants of a painted bridle, leading from the left hand of the rider and continuing along the jawline of the horse. The hind legs also include linear lines of pigment.

The overall composition of the equestrian figurines from the tombs reflects similar stylistic components of those found in the sanctuaries. The horses especially are almost identical to some of those in the Princeton collection, while the riders display the greatest differences. The equestrians from the tombs are very long and slender with a unique headdress. One of the designated riders from the sanctuaries does portray a similar cap, but it is fragmented. However, among the disjointed heads excavated by Princeton, eighteen have the exact same headdress as those of the horse and rider figurines found in the tombs. This not only helps solidify the connection between the tomb equestrian terracottas and those from the sanctuaries, but also suggests the possibility that more of the Princeton fragments not included in this thesis once belonged to a horse and rider composition.

CHAPTER 5

HORSE AND RIDER FIGURINES FROM OTHER CYPRIOTE SITES

The horse and rider figurines of Marion derive, in part, from the rich and diverse coroplastic arts of ancient Cyprus. Spanning over 3,500 years, the practice has a complex history encompassing ideas and techniques developed locally and abroad.¹³¹ What makes the island's clay production so unique is its depiction of the "real rather than the mythical world" of Cyprus as well as the long duration of local technique and iconography until its full surrender to foreign coroplastic representations and concepts in the Hellenistic period.¹³²

Much of what is known concerning Cypriote clay figurines stems from the findings of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and other excavations and research conducted thereafter.¹³³ Unfortunately, before the 1900s, extensive looting and amateur collecting was a constant. As a result, many of the artifacts available in museums and collections are undocumented and, although the Swedish Cyprus Expedition set a precedent for scientific/scholarly research and future excavations, there are significant gaps in the

¹³¹ Vassos Karageorghis, "The Coroplastic Art of Cyprus: An Introduction," in *Cypriote Terracottas: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriote Studies, Brussels-Liège-Amsterdam, 29 May – 1 June, 1989*, ed. Frieda Vandenabeele and Robert Laffineur (Brussels-Liège: A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1991), 14.

¹³² Karageorghis, "The Coroplastic Art of Cyprus," 14. The Hellenistic period began in Cyprus in 325 BC. At this time, Cypriote iconography lost its footing entirely and was eclipsed by the flood of imported objects, materials and ideas from Greece, Egypt, and the Near East.

¹³³ Vassos Karageorghis, Sanne Houby-Nielsen, and Paul Aström, *The Cyprus Collection in the Medelhavsmuseet* (Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation, 2003). From 1927-1931, during the time period of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, twenty-five different sites were excavated on a large scale, with the goal of establishing a chronology for Cypriote archaeology.

progression of Cypriote terracottas and a vast number of figurines lacking their find-context and, therefore, not suitable in determining Cyprus' coroplastic chronology.¹³⁴

What is known is that terracotta figures emerged sometime during the Chalcolithic period, lasting into the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹³⁵ These early figures were mostly flat and schematic in shape with simple details either incised or appliqué. Terracotta images begin to be produced in the round starting in the eleventh century BC with plank figures still in production, suggesting that each shape may have had a separate meaning or function.¹³⁶

Based on available material, there seems to be a lack of terracotta production during most of the Early Bronze Age.¹³⁷ Appearing towards the end of the Early Bronze Age and continuing into the Middle Bronze Age, coroplastic figures (in the round) become part of vase decoration in a variety of forms including humans, animals and birds. Vessels displaying appliqué figures make daily usage impractical, suggesting their

¹³⁴ "...only the terracottas found during regular excavations can give us an accurate image of the production of this period." Frieda Vandenabeele, "The Terracottas of the Cypro-Geometric Period," in *Cypriote Terracottas: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriot Studies, Brussels-Liège-Amsterdam, 29 May-1 June 1989*, ed. Frieda Vandenabeele and Robert Laffineur (Brussels-Liège: A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1991), 57.

¹³⁵ Karageorghis, "The Coroplastic Art of Cyprus," 9. The Chalcolithic period occurred in Cyprus between the 4th and mid 3rd millennia BC.

¹³⁶ Veronica Tatton-Brown, *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age: Proceedings of the Seventh British Museum Classical Colloquium, April 1988* (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), 411.

¹³⁷ Karageorghis, "The Coroplastic Art of Cyprus," 10. This could be due to the available information coming solely from tombs. It is possible that terracotta figurines were present, but used in sanctuaries alone, and since a sanctuary has yet to be uncovered from the Early Bronze Age, this time period in Cypriote coroplasty is still undetermined.

sole purpose as ritualistic in nature.¹³⁸ Stand-alone figurines not associated with vases were simplistic in form, echoing the plank-like incised figures of the Chalcolithic period.

Equine clay representations, although small in number, become present in Cyprus during the end of the Middle Bronze Age.¹³⁹ During this time period, political stability is established throughout many of Cyprus' city-kingdoms,¹⁴⁰ infusing a new zeal and increased production of Cypriote terracottas.

The general production of figurines in terracotta material goes into decline during the latter part of the Bronze Age, continuing into the Cypro-Geometric period.¹⁴¹ Many scholars attribute this coroplastic regression to increased trade and a local preference of imported goods, especially those from the Aegean and Levant that were made of high-quality materials.¹⁴² During the Bronze Age, the concept of a divinity in male or female form is incorporated into coroplastic production, and along with its adoption there is a noticeable waning of other iconographic types.¹⁴³

However, there still is coroplastic production present in the later Cypro-Geometric period.¹⁴⁴ Humans, animals, equestrians, masks and architectural models are all present, with most of them handmade and the mold being incorporated sporadically in

¹³⁸ Ibid., 10.

¹³⁹ Frieda Vandenabeele, "The Terracottas of the Cypro-Geometric Period," 63.

¹⁴⁰ Karageorghis, "The Coroplastic Art of Cyprus," 12.

¹⁴¹ Frieda Vandenabeele, "The Terracottas of the Cypro-Geometric Period," 57.

¹⁴² Karageorghis, "The Coroplastic Art of Cyprus," 12.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 12.

¹⁴⁴ Lack of evidence could be due, in part, to the large number of terracotta figurines looted during the 1800s.

the early seventh century.¹⁴⁵ Horses during this time period are thick in composition, with a prominent clipped mane, elongated pointed head and a tubular body with short tail – a style that disappears in the Cypro-Archaic period.¹⁴⁶

At the end of the Geometric period, leading into the Archaic, Cyprus' coroplastic production recovers with the incorporation of Near Eastern iconography, paralleling the new trade contracts made between Cyprus and its Near Eastern neighbors.¹⁴⁷ Cyprus not only imports, but also exports, becoming a center for coroplastic production in the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁴⁸

The quality of Cypriote terracottas reaches its zenith during the Archaic and Classical periods. Demand for large quantities of figurines, primarily for votive purposes, caused coroplasts to heavily rely on the incorporation of molds in order to mass-produce. From the seventh century on, the majority of terracotta figurines incorporated moldmade features and were in high demand.¹⁴⁹

By the beginning of the first millennium BC, it was standard in Cypriote society for large numbers of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic terracottas, human and animal, to be deposited as votives in sanctuaries. The figurines' dress, postures and, on occasion,

¹⁴⁵ Karageorghis, "The Coroplastic Art of Cyprus," 58.

¹⁴⁶ Frieda Vandenabeele, "The Terracottas of the Cypro-Geometric Period," 61.

¹⁴⁷ Karageorghis, "The Coroplastic Art of Cyprus," 13.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 14. The island's terracotta figurines have been found in Samos, Lindos, and the Syro-Palestinian coast at sites dating to the Cypro-Archaic period. It is possible that the presence of Cypriote terracottas on foreign soil is due to the establishment of workshops to satisfy the demands of the local populace.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. Molds were imported from the Aegean, as well as the Near East.

depictions of the figurines holding offerings suggest that they represented human suppliants, with some arranged in interaction, portraying moments of daily life.¹⁵⁰

Equestrian figurines began to develop and dominate the coroplastic repertoire of many Cypriote sites and city kingdoms during the eighth and seventh centuries BC.¹⁵¹ This time period also marks the Near Eastern transition in military preference from chariotry to cavalry forces, supporting the theory that trends in terracotta figurine types reflected socio-political change as well as individual aspirations and identities.

Establishing a “Cypriote type” is challenging, with many techniques and characteristics influenced by foreign imports and the assimilation of iconography from a number of cultures from the Near East, Greece, and Egypt in Cyprus’ ancient city-kingdoms. However, there are some consistencies in Cyprus’ coroplastic *oeuvre* that should be noted. Cypriote coroplasts, when rendering equestrian terracottas, give most of the detail to the head of the rider and horse. It is the headdress and facial features of the horseman that receive detailed attention, with the bodies of both the horse and rider often being handmade.

There also is a connection between Cypriote horse and rider figurines and pottery, where technique and decoration of equestrian terracottas echo that of manufactured contemporary pottery.¹⁵² This suggests that the same artisan producing pottery was also including horse and rider figurines in his workshop. This can be seen in the consistent use

¹⁵⁰ Moorey, *Idols of the People*, 44. These votive scenes are also present in Phoenicia and were meant to “evoke the realities of the world in which the suppliants lived.”

¹⁵¹ Karageorghis, Karageorghis, and Marantidou, *Terracottas of Cypriote Type Found in Cyprus and the Aegean*, 30.

¹⁵² Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 189.

of red and black pigment, as well as the use of the wheel in earlier, pillar terracotta figures.

Horse and rider figurines, as well as chariots, were most commonly found in sanctuaries dedicated to a male divinity.¹⁵³ Many of the horsemen, especially in the sixth century BC, were given a mold made face which some scholars suggest was a representation of a famous hero or distinguished person with whom the votive's owner wished to associate.¹⁵⁴

With imports flooding Cyprus and its coroplastic corpus eventually incorporating both foreign motifs and Near Eastern and Greek characteristics, traditional local Cypriote types disappeared almost entirely by the end of the sixth century BC. Their “glorious epoch,”¹⁵⁵ spanning almost four centuries, demonstrates the importance of Cyprus not only as an “intermediator of culture but also a creator of culture,”¹⁵⁶ distinguishing styles that withstood constant periods of transition and change.

Technique and Decoration

While early horse and rider representations in Cyprus were often thick in composition with simple designs, the equestrian terracottas of the Cypro-Archaic and Classical periods depict a sleeker, intricate design. Some characteristics from the eleventh and tenth centuries BC still survived, including the depiction of a “stiff, crest-like” mane

¹⁵³ Karageorghis, “The Coroplastic Art of Cyprus,” 13.

¹⁵⁴ Moorey, *Idols of the People*, 61.

¹⁵⁵ Karageorghis, “The Coroplastic Art of Cyprus,” 14.

¹⁵⁶ Karageorghis, Houby-Nielsen, and Aström, *The Cyprus Collection in the Medelhavsmuseet*.

with arching forelock (Figure 5).¹⁵⁷ Cypro-Geometric renditions have the rider sitting sidesaddle, while the Archaic and Classical rider sits astride, just behind the withers of the horse, usually grasping the mane or an object (Figure 6). The greatest distinction among Cypriote equestrian terracottas of the Archaic and Classical periods, compared to those made in earlier productions, is lifelike representations accomplished by the use of molds and the inclusion of both horse and rider accoutrements.

Although many of these characteristics can be found in the coroplastic repertoires of most ancient Cypriote sites, each city-kingdom has a distinct style unique to the horse and rider corpus. For the purpose of this thesis, a brief survey of significant equestrian terracottas from the sites of Salamis, Amathus, Kourion and Ayia Irini will be presented.¹⁵⁸ Attention to technique, as well as decoration, will be the central focal point in order to illustrate the diversity of Cyprus' horse and rider production as well as offer a comparison to those found at the ancient site of Marion.

Salamis

Located at a natural harbor on the east coast of Cyprus, the ancient city-kingdom of Salamis was one of the island's wealthiest assets in economic interaction with the Near East and Egypt.¹⁵⁹ The earliest city dates to the Late Bronze Age in the first half of the

¹⁵⁷ Tatton-Brown, *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age*, 414.

¹⁵⁸ These four sites were chosen specifically for their substantial coroplastic corpus and the horse and rider and their excavation in a sanctuary or mortuary context. There are similarities among the ancient sites as well as substantial differences that will be further discussed in this thesis' conclusion.

¹⁵⁹ See Figure 1 for a map detailing the location of Salamis, as well as other Cypriote city-kingdoms.

eleventh century BC, with the latest occupation ending in 342 AD, due to destruction by earthquake.¹⁶⁰

Relative to this thesis are the royal tombs ranging from the eighth century BC to the Byzantine era. The mortuary remains of Salamis indicate a combination of local and foreign influences, both in practice and material. Artifacts uncovered from the tombs show strong connections to the Near East as well as the Aegean and Egypt. While many of the objects buried with the deceased are Cypriote in nature, many have adopted foreign traits and iconography.

Salamis is one of the few ancient city-kingdoms of Cyprus showing a distinct incorporation of horses within its society. In every royal tomb excavated at Salamis, there is evidence of horse sacrifice.¹⁶¹ Believed to be an imitation of Assyrian burial rituals, equine sacrifice served as a symbol of wealth and power.¹⁶² It has also been suggested that the mortuary sacrifice of horses attached to chariots are similar to those of Homeric practices.¹⁶³ As a result, horses during this time period in Cyprus, at least in the vicinity of Salamis, were seen as a status symbol and a vehicle through which an individual could present an ideal identity or persona.

There are a few documented examples of terracotta horse and rider figurines from the royal tombs of Salamis. Unlike many of the finely crafted objects accompanying the

¹⁶⁰ Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*, 3.

¹⁶¹ Sarah Janes, "Negotiating Island Interactions" in *Material Connections in the Ancient Mediterranean: mobility, materiality, and Mediterranean identities*, ed. Peter Dommelen and Arthur Bernard Knapp. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge (2010): 139.

¹⁶² A. M. Carstens, "To Bury a Ruler: the Meaning of the Horse in Aristocratic Burials." *Cyprus: Religion and Society from the late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period*. Möhnsee (2005): 57-76.

¹⁶³ Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, 118.

deceased, the equestrian terracottas are less refined in configuration. One, in particular, from Tomb 21 at Salamis-*Cellarka* (see Figure 6) is handmade standing at 12cm in preserved height.¹⁶⁴ The horse's proportions are stout and stocky with a very thick neck, a hand modeled head and tapered, triangular legs. The rider is also handmade, grasping the horse's head and portraying minimal facial features including a nose, protruding chin, and a slight indent below the nose suggesting a mouth. His head comes to an exaggerating point, drawn up into a high peak alluding to a pointed cap or conical headdress.

The painted decoration of these figurines is the most notable and a staple of terracotta figurines coming from Salamis. At first glance, the thick painted lines seem sporadic and haphazard, but after closer examination, the lines form to create a distinct equine dress which consists of a thick black and purple laddering descending from the horse's head all the way down the length of his forelegs with an identical rendition displayed along the rump and hind legs. The rider is also covered in concentric bands of red paint, along his legs, back, and arms. The cone of his cap is painted red, and a beard is painted in black pigment from ear to ear.¹⁶⁵

The thick diagonal lines on the rider's body, as well as the painted cap are reminiscent of cavalry and royal dress depicted in an Assyrian military procession on a

¹⁶⁴ Karageorghis, "The Coroplastic Arts of Cyprus," 83.

¹⁶⁵ Interestingly, the tomb in which this particular horse and rider was found is part of a number of chamber tombs different from others found in Salamis, specifically in architecture and burial customs. This might suggest a foreign burial. See: Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*, 4.

Cypro-Phoenician silver bowl, dating between 710-675 BC.¹⁶⁶ A cavalryman with a spear wears a tunic from the neck down to the knee and comprised of diagonal lines. The Assyrian king in the chariot wears a stout, rectangular headdress and a beard. This not only suggests that Figure 5 from Salamis might represent an aristocratic figure, but reflects Assyrian cavalry costume.

When compared to the horse and riders from Marion, the Salamis material is in many ways different in both composition and decoration. There are many Marion horses displaying laddering, but none of these renditions are as heavily painted as those at Salamis. The Marion material also appears more delicate and the painting schema is more organized when compared to the somewhat disorderly way in which the coroplast formed the horse and rider, including uneven pigment splotches and the horse's handmade muzzle appearing unfinished compared to the molded horse heads of Marion. There also is a generous use of black and purple pigment at Salamis, while the majority of Marion's equestrian terracottas are decorated in a red pigment, with occasional black details.

The tombs excavated at Salamis have been recognized as burial places of aristocrats.¹⁶⁷ Tomb 21, where the horse and rider figurine described was found, is part of a series of chamber tombs set apart from the necropolis and believed to be an area reserved for a "special class of the community."¹⁶⁸ Although heavily looted, it is fortunate that the horse burials in these tombs were generally left untouched, along with a

¹⁶⁶ Glenn Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 52-53, Pl Cy1.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1-4.

number of horse and rider terracottas. The horse burials not only confirm the presence of horses in Cyprus, but also their connection to the city-kingdom's elite. Some of the tombs include horses with fully intact regalia and accoutrements, offering direct evidence of the use of horse tack and militaristic equipage. The presence of horse and rider figurines within the same context and their representation of some of the accoutrements adorning the sacrificial horses, suggest that equestrian terracottas not only represented an image favored by a deity, but also represented an existent culture within the city-kingdom of Salamis.

Amathus

On the southern coast of Cyprus lies one of the most ancient city-kingdoms of the island. Amathus was founded sometime during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age around 1100 BC, with habitation continuing into the Roman period.¹⁶⁹ Although the site was heavily looted for centuries, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition successfully excavated fifty-eight tombs ranging from the Cypro-Geometric period to the Cypro-Roman period, with the earliest tombs showing a strong Graeco-Phoenician influence.¹⁷⁰ The ancient site also includes a Hellenistic temple dedicated to the cult of Aphrodite.

Similar to the equestrian terracottas from Salamis, the Amathus horse and rider figurines are found in a mortuary context. A large number were documented and acquired by many museums and collections, allowing an ample number of examples for study with

¹⁶⁹ Hector William Catling, *Amathus* (Oxford University Press, 2012). Also, see Figure 1 for a map detailing the location of Amathus, as well as other Cypriote city-kingdoms.

¹⁷⁰ Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus II*, 141.

a reliable provenance. All were excavated from tombs and, for the most part, are similar to each other in composition and decoration.

The nearest neighbor to Amathus, however, was Kourion and a small number of horsemen of Kourion manufacture were found during the excavations of Amathus.¹⁷¹ Not only were these figurines excavated in a mortuary context (unlike the sanctuary context of Kourion) but also the cult practices at Amathus involved Zeus and Adonis, not Apollo. Why then, were Kourion's horse and riders found in a mortuary context at Amathus? And why were Kourion's equestrian terracottas, used in cult practices of Apollo, found at a site worshipping two different male divinities, especially when Cypriote horse and rider figurines were a standard dedication to Apollo?¹⁷² Similar to Marion, this supports the theory that equestrian terracottas could be used in both sanctuary and mortuary contexts. Also, the presence of Kourion-made horse and rider figurines at Amathus implies that equestrian terracottas were used in relation to a broader pantheon of male deities, rather than conclusively to Apollo.

The majority of horse and riders found at Amathus are handmade with the rider sitting just behind the horse's withers, leaning back and resting his hands on the mane of the horse. There are quite a few variations in head and face composition, but the majority of the riders' bodies are handmade, slender, with long arms and hands grasping the back of the horse's head. The rider's legs are very short. One of the types of riders has a large cylindrical head that comes to a low point, representing a small cap or conical headdress

¹⁷¹ Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 225.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 225.

(Figure 7). Remnants of pellets for ears are present, and the nose and chin are exceptionally prominent. The cap, beard and eyes of the rider are painted in black, with red spots dotting the cheeks. His fingers are painted in black, as well as the thick lines vertically covering the sides of both of the rider's legs.

Another common headdress among the horsemen of Amathus is a "Phrygian cap" with a high tiara, curling to the side, with flaps down, studs, and the front brim drooping on the rider's forehead (Figure 8).¹⁷³ This is very similar to a horse and rider from Kourion (Figure 9), except the high tiara is stiff, which dates to the fifth century BC. Both of the riders from Amathus and Kourion have a prominent nose and jaw.

In most cases the horses are slender with an elongated neck and muzzle. The mane includes a conical forelock that rises at the crest of the horse's head. The eyes of the horse are painted in black, while the horse's bridle and laddering on the neck, forelegs and hind legs are comprised of red and black paint.

When compared to the Marion material, Amathus' decoration of the horse does illustrate some similarities in horse accoutrements, while the horses differ greatly in shape and composition. The delicate, thin lines of the laddering on the horse from Amathus are a similar likeness to the laddering present on Marion's R21863/TC8925, although the Amathus coroplast was more precise in his rendering of the horse tack. The headdress of the Amathus riders is not present in the available horse and rider material from Marion.

¹⁷³ Xenophon, *Anab.* ii. 5. 23, *Cyrop.* viii. 3. 15.

Although the horse and rider terracottas from Amathus come from a burial context like those from Salamis, the two coroplastic groups depict very different styles in the way the horse and rider are portrayed in form and dress. Extensive trade and contact between Amathus and the Phoenicians may account for the rendering of the city-kingdom's equestrian terracottas, specifically the thin beard and painted cap of the rider and arched neck of the horse.¹⁷⁴

Kourion

The Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion has produced a substantial number of horse and rider figurines.¹⁷⁵ The equestrian votives total to almost 1,000 and are part of a bothros deposit of over 2,000 terracotta objects.¹⁷⁶ The excavated horse and riders date from the seventh century to the first century BC. As seen with the findings of Amathus, votaries from Kourion were known to bring votives to shrines outside of their own city, including: Amathus, New Paphos, Idalion and smaller sites such as Drymou and Limnati.¹⁷⁷ The numerous variety of styles adopted by Kourion's equestrian figurines, both in composition and adornment, make it impossible for this paper to give each one individual attention. However, there are some styles and characteristics that need to be addressed for comparison to the Marion material.

To put in perspective the vast corpus of different styles – of the 1,000 terracotta horse and riders, there are approximately sixty different molds used for their production

¹⁷⁴ A. T. Reyes, *Archaic Cyprus: A Study of the Textual and Archaeological Evidence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 82.

¹⁷⁵ See Figure 1 for a map detailing the location of Kourion, as well as other Cypriote city-kingdoms.

¹⁷⁶ Winter, "Kourion: the Workshops," 221.

¹⁷⁷ Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 226.

and all date from the fourth to the first centuries BC.¹⁷⁸ Similar to the Marion horse and rider figurines, the Kourion horsemen are a combination of molded and non-molded techniques separated into four categories: made without the use of molds, solid and handmade with faces cast from molds, made with considerable use of molds, and entirely made with molds.¹⁷⁹ The only difference between these categories and those of the Marion material is that none of the horse and rider figurines from Marion are made from a one-piece mold.¹⁸⁰

The coroplast gave the most attention to the headdress of the rider.¹⁸¹ Among the many different types of headgear, there are a few similar to those of the horsemen of Marion. The Kourion corpus includes “bareheaded” riders that date to the seventh century BC and fillets and mitras became prominent in the sixth century BC.¹⁸² The “Phrygian cap” appears at Kourion paralleling Cyprus’ assimilation into the Persian Empire during the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC and, along with mitras, continued to be used until 330 BC.¹⁸³ The use of lappets extends throughout the majority of the corpus, however, according to Young and Young’s categorization, lappets never coincide with helmets, only with tiaras and caps.

¹⁷⁸ Winter, “Kourion: the Workshops,” 221. The corpus altogether produced over two hundred handmade heads of sixty-seven different types and two thousand moldmade faces of sixty different molds.

¹⁷⁹ Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 190-194.

¹⁸⁰ As mentioned earlier, the Marion horse and riders usually have molded horse heads attached to handmade bodies and non-molded horsemen with either a molded or handmade head. Kourion’s equestrian terracottas made entirely by mold are believed to be from Kourion but made of imported clay. They are both solid and hollow.

¹⁸¹ Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 196-210. For headdresses there are more than ninety-five subcategories of type and additional variances for each subcategory

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 196.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 200.

Many of the Kourion horsemen with molded heads show resemblances to those of Marion. They all lean forward on the withers of the horse, grasping the head or mane with short legs resting on the horse's forelegs. Red and black pigment are often present. One example of a rider with a molded head (see Figure 10) shows the coroplast's adding of a thick headdress, most likely a mitra or low tiara with long lappets that fall down onto the rider's chest. This figure can be compared to Marion's R21863/TC8925 (Pl VII:1), however, the Kourion figure has a thick band across his head, while Marion's does not.

Not all of Kourion's riders are considered cavalrymen, however, those that are have been designated by the presence of military equipment such as a shield, spear and/or helmet. When analyzing the 1,000 horse and rider terracottas produced from Kourion, it puts into perspective how small the Marion corpus is in comparison to those of other ancient Cypriote kingdoms. Some of Kourion's terracotta warriors are very similar in appearance to Marion's equestrian terracottas with molded heads, but the dominance of militaristic accoutrements present in Kourion's corpus is absent from the Marion material. Kourion's bellicose theme could reflect the city-kingdom's involvement in military conflict during antiquity, while Marion's corpus reflects its relatively passive history.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Kourion has an extensive history of conflict, including the rise of Persian power in the fifth century and the battle of Issus in 333 BC.

Ayia Irini

Ayia Irini is located on the northwest coast of Cyprus and is one of the smallest ancient sites on the island.¹⁸⁵ A cult sanctuary was discovered by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1929, dating from the late Bronze Age till the end of the Cypro-Archaic period BC.¹⁸⁶ The ancient site of Ayia Irini and its accompanying sanctuary were untouched by the swarms of tomb robbers pillaging across the island. As a result, an enormous cache of votives was uncovered by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, easily in the thousands, offering a glimpse of what other Cypriote sanctuary sites might have contained if not for their continual despoilment. The majority of the terracotta human figurines uncovered at the sanctuary are militaristic in nature, which Gjerstad suggests is evidence of the worship of a war god.¹⁸⁷

There are a few different types of horse and rider figurines coming from the Ayia Irini sanctuary. One of the more common (see Figure 11) types is very simple in composition. Measured at 15.2cm in preserved height, the horse and rider are handmade, with the rider perched on a little cushion placed centrally on the back of the horse. The rider leans backward, with hands attached on either side of the mane and short little legs running parallel along the horse's sides. The rider's head comes to a severe point representing a conical headdress. The eyes, ears and large nose are additionally applied, with a pointed chin jutting outwards. The decoration on the rider is worn, but visible. All

¹⁸⁵ See Figure 1 for a map detailing the location of Ayia Irini, as well as other ancient Cypriote sites.

¹⁸⁶ Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, 642-824.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 822.

of the markings are of black pigment. The cap is painted with straps that run behind the ears and underneath the chin. The rider's arms, legs and sides also have traces of black painted lines.

The horse is also simple. He has slim legs, torso, and a long neck, muzzle and tail. The horse's mane has a prominent forelock that is painted black. Thin black lines detail a bridle with headstall and additional brow strap. Thick lines, also black in color, run vertically from the head down along the horse's forelegs, with thin concentric bands across the chest and neck. A single, thick black line runs across the horse's rump from hind leg to hind leg.

Other equestrian figurines from Ayia Irini are more militaristic in form. One, in particular, has a rider with a helmet and shield, while the horse also has a protective nose plate (see Figure 12). The helmet has a high point and long cheek pieces, very different in composition when compared to those found at Salamis, Amathus, Kourion, as well as Marion. The cavalryman also has shoulder pads, and the smoothing of his helmet into the garment covering his back, neck and chest may indicate full body armor.

Both the horse and rider and the cavalry figures from Ayia Irini are very different in composition when compared to those excavated at Marion, as well as other ancient Cypriote city-kingdoms. The body of the horse is somewhat similar to that of the Amathus horse, with its long slender barrel and cylindrical legs, but the neck and muzzle of the Ayia Irini horse is more angular, while the horse from Amathus is more curvilinear in form. The horsemen from Ayia Irini also sit farther back on the horse's back, rather

than on the withers, attesting to the earlier period in which the Ayia Irini sanctuary existed.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The current knowledge of ancient Marion is imperfect, with considerable gaps in information on its social, cultural and religious history. However, what we do know is that it was a significant ancient port and had social and economic relations with the Near East, Greece, and other neighboring Cypriote city-kingdoms. Ancient Marion had an intricate urban grid that included large subdivisions and two prominent sanctuaries. Both of these religious structures, although very different in construction and choice of location, had long life spans and were two visually prominent focal points within the city boundaries – indicating that the sanctuaries were part of the every-day existence of the city's population.

The horse and rider figurines are some of the most telling objects found within the sanctuaries. They are an important part of what little evidence is still remaining and can help us further comprehend what Marion was as a cult site, a contributor to the coroplastic arts, and a Cypriote city-kingdom with an interactive economic system with its neighboring world.

The Composition and Style of Marion's Horse and Riders: A Correlation

After close examination of the Marion horse and rider corpus, the number of figurines, their plastic quality and rich variety in appearance and stylistic characteristics contribute to the better understanding of their role as objects of worship, representations of individual and social identity, and their legacy in the terracotta and equestrian vogue

simultaneously flourishing in cultures of the ancient world. Although these interpretations can only be implied rather than confirmed, the comparison of Marion's horse and riders to those of other Cypriote sites and the Near East offers a plausible explanation of the material.

The equestrian terracottas from the Cypriote sites of Ayia Irini and Kourion are significantly larger in number than those of Marion. However, forty-six terracotta votives should not be considered a small number. It is a sizeable corpus of a single subject matter and not only indicates that the iconography of a horse and rider was popular among the Maratheri sanctuary patrons but was also considered to be an appropriate offering to the deity in residence. Looting, and the fragmented condition of the Marion collection also limits the ability to recognize how many equestrian figurines were originally present.

After examining the forty-seven horse and rider figurines from Marion, a few consistent trends in both composition and style stand out and should be addressed. There also needs to be a few conclusions made concerning the foreign iconographic influence on the Marion equestrian corpus. Because of the highly fragmentary state of the horsemen and horses, these observations and theories are based on visual examination alone and do not take into account the preserved measurements of each individual figure. Extensive charts displaying these coroplastic tendencies can be found at the end of this thesis.

Unfortunately, with there only being seven horsemen within the forty-seven-piece collection, it is impossible to establish "types". The only consistent tendency is the red

pigment of the rider's garments, when present. While the handmade body shape of each horseman is similar, the rendering of the facial features and headdress is varied, with not one horseman looking the same. Of the three molded heads with incised eyes and hair, the shape and spacing of the eyes and rendering of the chin suggest that each head comes from a different mold. The remaining four horsemen (one with head missing) are distinctly different from each other in both facial features and dress.

The most consistent correlation of features between the Marion horses occurs between the structure of the horse's body and the shape of its neck. If the body is of a thicker composition, then the neck is triangular. If the body is of a more slender, delicate composition, then the neck is cylindrical. Interestingly, there is not a correlation between body type and leg shape. While it would be assumed that the coroplast would choose to stabilize the figurines by putting tapered, triangular legs on horses of thicker compositions and assign more cylindrical, slender legs to horses of a more delicate, willowy structure, this is not the case.

There also are two general types of head shapes: the angular, boxy type and the cylindrical, pointy type. All of the horse heads are molded. Of these two types of shapes, there are a few variations, including one horse whose muzzle is curved downward, instead of the usual straight protrusion. But for the purpose of this study, these variations have been assigned to one of the two head types. According to the numbers, there is not a noticeable preference of one type of head shape over another. However, while the slender, pointed head shape can be found on bodies of both the thick composition and the

slender composition, the angular, boxy heads are only found on triangular necks attached to thick bodies. Also, when present, the curved forelock is only found on horse heads of the slender, pointed type. The forelock is always painted with red pigment.

From the available material, the forming of the muzzle, no matter the head shape, is either smooth lacking nostrils and a mouth, or it has both characteristics with the mouth being incised and the two nostrils pierced. The only disclaimer concerning these observations of composition is that many of the muzzles are severely broken or missing altogether from the horse's head. Interestingly, the fully intact muzzles only belong to horses with heads of the slender, pointed type. It is possible that this may attribute to the mold the artisan used to render the heads. The larger, boxy horse heads could have been partially hollow and, therefore, more delicate than the solid, cylindrical type.

Painted decoration and accoutrements have many correlations with each other, particularly the coupling of the bridle with other horse tack. Horses do not have headgear, laddering, or a chest plate without the accompaniment of a bridle. This could be due to the nature or function of the horse. If a horse has a headdress, extensive laddering or a chest plate, this could indicate that the horse is being used in a military or public setting and, therefore, is in need of guidance and control. However, the cheek strap is the most common painted accoutrement among the Marion horses, with most horses donning some form of bridle, whether it is a simple bit and cheek piece combination or the full headstall with nose strap, frontlet, cheek straps and brow strap.

The majority of the horse's accoutrements are painted in red. Those rendered in black pigment are only found on horses' heads of the slender, pointed type. On the rare occasion when black pigment is included in neck, chest and body decoration, it never appears alone, but instead sits alongside similar lines rendered in red pigment. Just as red pigment can be used by itself to render accoutrements, vertical lines can also. Horizontal lines, however, only appear in the accompaniment of vertical lines, most often in the painting of laddering and chest plates.

Of the four discernable chest plates, only one is rendered on a horse of thick composition. There is a possibility, however, of more horses having chest plates, particularly those of the thick composition type. Many of the horses have vertical lines up and down their legs, with laddering only covering the chest, while other horses have laddering covering both the legs and the chest. Laddering never occurs on tapered/triangular horse's legs. So it is possible that horses with laddering on the chest, but lacking it on the legs, could, in fact, be sporting a chest plate.

Of all of the decorative tendencies, the most noticeable are those belonging to horses of a slender, cylindrical body composition. This type is the only type that has a painted tail, painted curved forelock and decoration of the back or barrel. Horses of a thicker composition have decoration concentrated on the neck, chest and head.

Connection through Decoration

The horse and riders of Marion present a rich variety of decorative forms that, through further examination, act as evidence in identifying foreign influences in the city-

kingdom, as well as Marion's awareness of similar influences at other ancient Cypriote sites. Although information is limited about the extent of foreign occupation, visitation and influence in Marion's social, economic, and political demographic, Cyprus' kingdoms went through many foreign assimilations and had numerous trading contacts with the Near East and Greece. The presence of recognized Assyrian, Persian, Phoenician and Greek characteristics in its horse and rider iconography not only confirm the influence of these foreign cultures, but also their involvement with Marion, at least through trade.

Many of the characteristics of the horseman's costume at Marion resemble Near Eastern traits. The "barehead technique," in reference to a skullcap with details rendered in paint, is present in Assyrian reliefs. Kourion, a city-kingdom involved in Assyrian trade, also has similar representations of the tight, seamless cap. Another headdress present at Kourion as well as Marion is the pointed "Phrygian cap" with a thick band stretching horizontally across the brow. This particular head cover has been associated with Persian military dress.

The garments of Marion's horsemen, although less prominent, also suggest Near Eastern influence. One of the riders has a painted cloak or chlamys of Near Eastern origin, wrapping around his shoulders. Two different horsemen have red pigment covering their arms and legs which could represent the long sleeved shirt and tight trousers of eastern attire which was included in many coroplastic renderings of Cypriote horse and riders in the sixth century BC.

Marion's horses are the most numerous in the terracotta corpus and display standard tack of Near Eastern origin and development. There are multiple examples of the saddle, originating in the Near East. One Marion example has tassels, while another has a red and black chromatic border. The most telling of Marion's awareness of Near Eastern accoutrements is the presence of laddering and chest plates on a substantial number of terracotta horses. Salamis, which had connections to the Near East, the Aegean and Egypt, also has prominent representations of laddering, specifically in thick black and purple lines covering the horse's head down to his forelegs. Amathus, whose horse and rider figurines reflect a strong Graeco-Phoenician influence, has laddering in its iconographic repertoire. However, unlike Salamis, Amathus' rendering of laddering accoutrements is more comparable to Marion's delicate rendering of laddering and other equipage.

The inclusion of horse accoutrements on the majority of the equestrian terracottas also suggests that these figures could reference cavalry forces. The horsemen from the Kourion sanctuary are associated with Apollo and a clear representation of war. The burials at Salamis, which included horse and rider figurines, were focused on horses, their accoutrements and were among offerings of war memorabilia.

Some of Marion's horsemen suggest a direct Greek influence, especially those with features relating to the later, Classical period of Cyprus' coroplastic production. Drapery on one of the riders falls diagonally from the right shoulder towards the left of his chest. Another equestrian has a broad band of red pigment, crossing his chest from

right shoulder to the left of his waist. Although these garments could be Near Eastern in origin, they also could be different representations of the Greek himation, a mantle or wrap worn by Greek men and women.

Another important feature present on the three riders with molded heads, are characteristics similar to Kourion's horse and riders attributed to the likeness of Alexander the Great.¹⁸⁸ Youthful in appearance, with clean-shaven faces, locks of hair and high cheekbones, Marion's three horse and riders with molded heads resemble the beardless horsemen at Kourion whose appearance was in concurrence with Alexander's Battle of Issus in 333 BC. This is the same time when the Cypriote standard of figures of mixed molded and non-molded features disappear completely, after their steady decline in the late fifth century BC.¹⁸⁹

Marion Coroplasty and Cypriote Identity

The possible representation of a mitra on one of Marion's horsemen is a reminder that although the city-kingdom incorporated many motifs of foreign origin, there still are characteristics that connect the corpus to Cyprus' coroplastic *oeuvre*. The mitra is a long strip of cloth made from wool and worn by the Cypriote elite, with many different styles accomplished by the twisting of its folds around the head.

Kourion's vast collection of horse and rider terracottas exhibits many different types of mitras. There also is a similarity between the horses from Marion with molded

¹⁸⁸ Young and Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, 231. The change in molded facial types at Kourion accompanied Alexander's conquest.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 231.

heads and those coming from the Classical period at Kourion. With Kourion's horse and rider figurines present at a number of other ancient Cypriote sites, including Amathus, it would not be implausible to suggest that these figures could have originated from Kourion artisans or were the product of a coroplast familiar with Kourion's distinct style.

The coroplast is the interpreter and mediator between the demands of social, political and economic expectations for terracotta votives and their ability, as material objects, to satisfy the deity to which the votive is being dedicated. The rich legacy of Cyprus' coroplastic production, spanning almost 3,500 years, evolved along with changes in society and its political and economic circumstances. This included the incorporation of foreign motifs. The assimilation of foreign and local concepts in Cypriote iconography occurred for two possible reasons – meeting the demands of external politics and trade and a city-kingdom's need to appear relevant with the outside world. Each of the ancient sites included in this thesis – Marion, Amathus, Salamis, Kourion, and Ayia Irini – exhibit this fusion of iconographic representations within their horse and rider compositions.

Despite the development of this equine vogue, the coroplasts of Cyprus' city-kingdoms, including Marion, still exhibited a conformity to, or incorporation of, concepts that reflected a Cypriote standard for the appearance and symbolism of horse and rider votives. This style included the coroplast's focus on the detail of equine dress, particularly that of the horseman's head, also the use of techniques and decoration echoing that of contemporary Cypriote pottery. The most conservative and stubborn

quality exhibited by the Cypriote coroplast is the clear refusal to incorporate one-piece and compound molds for horse and rider terracottas until the late fourth early third centuries BC when, in foreign terracotta production, these types of molds were already common, becoming standard in the fifth century BC.

Marion's equestrian votives not only tie the city-kingdom to the coroplastic corpus of ancient Cyprus, but also shed light on the type of coroplasts contributing to the city's manufacture of terracotta figurines. Marion's terracotta material reflects the complexity of Cypriote chronology of horse and rider terracottas. The preference of the coroplast and his clientele in traditional forms as well as new trends defines Marion as a metropolitan center still devoted to traditional practices.

La longue durée: Marion's Contribution to Ancient Equine Iconography

Although the main object of this thesis was to present the unpublished horse and rider terracottas of Marion, the conclusion is Marion's contribution to the representation of equine iconography of Cyprus and abroad. Even if further research and investigation of the collection were to challenge or lead this information in another direction, there is one thing that can be agreed upon: Marion's horse and rider terracottas are an important contribution to the better understanding of the city-kingdom and represent the prevalence of equestrian imagery within the context of ancient societies.

Horses were beasts of burden, a sign of militarism, and, more importantly, a visual symbol of wealth and prestige inclusive to the aristocratic class. However,

equestrian terracottas in personal and public settings, used by both the common and the elite, demonstrate the importance of horse and rider iconography at ancient Marion. With the presence of the domesticated horse dating back to ca. 4000 BC and its accompanying iconography present in some of the Near East's earliest settlements, it is significant that a city-kingdom on the coast of Cyprus also possessed a similar understanding of the horse and its functions. *La longue durée* of equine iconography and ancient documentation on horse husbandry exemplifies the importance of the horse in Near Eastern society, and with the presence of equestrian figurines, Marion can now be included in the ancient effort to establish interpretations of equine importance in antiquity.

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